DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1953 and 1954

EDITED BY

Z. A. DESAI

सत्यमेव जयते

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1953 and 1954

SOME ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE EAST PUNJAB

By Dr M. Wahid Mirza, Lucknow

The decipherment of old coins and epigraphs is one of the most fascinating studies which is pregnant with rich possibilities, sometimes providing us with the only means of reconstructing the ancient history of a country. Very often again, these coins and inscriptions help us in supplementing our knowledge even about those periods of history on which standard works have been written by patient and painstaking historians. Thus an insignificant stone tablet or a piece of plaster which has withstood the merciless ravages of time and escaped the thou ghtless hand of the vandal, becomes an important historical link, a valuable record in the anna ls of history. Apart from this, they often faithfully illustrate the different changes which a p articular script has undergone during the various stages of its development. Many of them, for sheer elegance of style and delicacy of touch rival, nay, even surpass the finest specimens of calligr aphy preserved for us on paper. What could, indeed, be more interesting and edifying aesthet ically than to decipher an intricate piece of such writing, letter by letter, and to discover at last the secret it holds, even though it is, no doubt, a difficult task requiring patience and conc entration especially in the case of damaged epigraphs ? I, therefore, readily agreed to study in an article some of the inscriptions from various places in the East Punjab when approached by the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy who supplied me with their estampages.

Among the various parts of India rich in old inscriptions, the East Punjab holds a prominent position, for it was here that most of the battles for the possession of the Delhi throne were fought and consequently, it was here that the Delhi Kings built a number of strong-holds and fortresses for the defence of the Capital against the invaders from the north-west. Several towns of the East Punjab, such as Panipat, Thaneswar, Sirsa and Deopalpur, figure prominently in the medieval history of India, and some of them have a long and chequered history going back far beyond the middle ages. Numerous inscriptions lie strewn all over the country, and although, thanks mainly to the care and industry of the Archaeological Depratment employees, many of them have been successfully deciphered, there are many others which still await decipherment by those interested in Arabic and Persian studies and the history of Medieval India.

Out of the ten inscriptions that have been studied in the following lines, five are from Hansi, the earliest being dated 767 A.H. and the latest 1098 A.H. All of them are executed in the *Naskh* character of various types except one written in *Nasta'līq*. Three of these mention the construction of mosques, one the construction of a gate alongwith the repairs of a fort, while the third seems to mention the construction of a well ; the portion, in this inscription containing the purport of the record is badly damaged. The two following records coming from Kangra, belong to the later Mughul period and are executed in *Nasta'līq* script, recording the demise of certain persons

of at least local importance. The next two epigraphs belong to Kaithal and record the construction of a fortress and a mosque ; one of these belongs to the Khaljī period while the other is dated 1155 A.H. The last inscription of the group is reported to have been collected from Batala. It is in Arabic, carved in *Naskh* of a beautiful type, recording the construction of a tank, a mosque and a garden. Thus, these inscriptions ranging from 767 A.H. to 1161 A.H. cover a period of about four centuries, shedding light on the different stages of calligraphic styles, the titles in use, the zeal for constructing various monuments displayed by the kings and their subjects, etc.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM HANSI

One of the old towns prominent in the annals of Indian history is Hansi,[1] lying in the Hisar District, only 15 miles from the town of Hisar, originally Ḥiṣār-i-Fīrūza, built by Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in 757 A.H.[2] Hansi according to a popular legend, was built by Anangpal of the Tomar dynasty, but there are strong reasons to believe that it was a flourishing town as early as the Kushān period. It was captured from Anangpal by Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna in 1036 A.D., but was probably retaken by the Rajah in 1043 A.D. Later on it fell into the hands of Muḥammad Ghūrī and since then, it remained the headquarters of the district till its place was taken by Hisar. In the succeeding centuries, the town was the scene of several bloody contests between rival states, and the Marahttas, the Sikhs and the British fought for its possession, while for a short period it remained in the hands of an English adventurer who had carved out for himself a more or less independent principality in Hariana territory. It suffered also from a severe famine and earthquake, became depopulated and deserted, till finally it was reduced to its present state—a small unimportant town with hardly any commercial or industrial activity. The political upheavals to which the town has been subjected from time to time are, to a great extent, responsible for the destruction and disappearance of most of its historical monuments but some of them have survived and bear interesting inscriptions—mute witnesses to the past glory of this ancient city.

The following inscription executed in the *Naskh* script, appears on the central *miḥrāb* of the Ādīna masjid in the Bāzār Muḥalla, Hansi. It measures nearly 2½′ by 1¼′, and is complete and easily decipherable. Consisting of three lines, it runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(۱) بتوفیق خدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد میمون [و] دولت همایون

(۲) خدایگان عالم پناه بادشاه اسلام راعی الانام فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه

(۳) و سلطانه بندهٔ درگاه شاهین سلطانی بتاریخ غرهٔ ذی القعده سنه سبع و ستّین و سبعمایه این مسجد بنا کرد

TRANSLATION

(1) With the guidance of God, the Omniscient, and the blessing of the Prophet Muṣṭafā, peace be upon him, in the auspicious reign and benign regime of

(2) the great Master, the Shelter of the World, the King of Islām, the Guardian of the creatures, Fīrūz Shāh the king, may God perpetuate his kingship

[1] For a short history of this town, see the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (s.v.).

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Nawal Kishore Ed.), I, p. 146.

(*a*) On the central miḥrāb of the Ādīna Mosque, Bāzār Muḥalla, Hansi

Scale : ·15

(*b*) In the centre of the first arch on the right, Jāmi‘ Mosque, Chār Quṭb, Hansi

Scale : ·25

(3) and suzerainty, the slave of the (royal) threshold, Shāhīn Sulṭānī, on the first day of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year seven hundred and sixty-seven (10 July 1366 A.D.) laid the foundation of this mosque.

It is evident from the inscription that the mosque[1] on which it appears was built during the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughlaq, who succeeded Muḥammad Tughlaq in the year 752 A.H., by one of his amīrs, probably attached to the royal court, named Shāhīn Sulṭānī. An amīr of this name Malik Shāhīn Bek, son of Malik Maḥmūd Bek is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, who, along with his brother, Malik Abū Muslim, came from Delhi to pay homage to Fīrūz Shāh while he was encamping at Hansi preparatory to his entry into the capital, and was honoured and rewarded by him.[2]

A slab of yellow stone fixed in the centre of the first arch from the right hand side in the Jāmi' masjid in the Chār Quṭb,[3] Hansi, bears another interesting inscritpion in Persian, giving the date of the building and the names of the founder, the composer of the inscription, and the stone-carver. It belongs to the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī, son of Sulṭān Bahlūl, which was one of the most brilliant periods of the pre-Mughul era of Indian history. The inscription, again in *Naskh*, measures 2⅜′ by 1′ and runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate I (b)

(۱) الملک لله - در عهد بادشاه مملکت سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

(۲) بتوفیق الله تعالی بندهٔ درگاه سبحانی ابا بکر بام جلوانی که یکی

(۳) از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابو الفتح قدس الله سره العزیز است

(۴) در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق و الشرع و الدین طاب ثراه و جعل

(۵) الجنة مثواه و نور الله مراقده (کذا) در وقت جلوس سجادهٔ بندگی سلطان المشایخ

(۶) شیخ فرید مد الله عمره این مسجد راست کنانید هرکه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعاء

(۷) ایمان یاد کند کاتب حروف رضی قطب نایب قاضی هانسی و کار فرمای شحنهٔ دهرمان
عبید للملک الابدی

(۸) الخامس و العشرین من ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ست و تسعین و ثمانمایه سنگتراش لدهن ؟
بن جلال ناگوری

TRANSLATION

(1) Kingdom belongs to God only. During the reign of the king of the dominion Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlūl Shāh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingship and suzerainty,

(2) by the guidance of God, the Glorious, the slave of the divine threshold, Abā Bakr Bām Jilwānī, who is one

[1] As Ādīna is the Persian equivalent of Jum'a it is also obvious that the mosque was meant to be a congregational one for specially the Friday prayers.

[2] Bibl. Ind. Ed., p. 122.

[3] The area containing the tombs of Shaikh Jamālu'd Dīn Hānswī, and three of his successors, for whom, see *Akhbāru'l Akhyār*, etc.

(3) of the disciples of the hand-grasping Preceptor, the Sulṭān of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ,[1] may God bless his precious soul,

(4) at the foot of the grave of the Quṭb of all the quṭbs of the world, Shaikh Jamālu'l Ḥaq wa'sh Shar' wa'd Dīn, may his dust be of pleasant odour and may

(5) Paradise be his abode, and may God illumine his tomb, at the time of accession to the saintly carpet[2] of our master, the Sulṭān of the Shaikhs,

(6) Shaikh Farīd, may God prolong his life, had this mosque erected. Let him who prays in this mosque remember him

(7) by praying for his faith. The writer of these words is Raḍī Quṭb,[3] deputy qāḍī of Hansi and the agent of the police prefect of ....[4] a slaveling of the Eternal Monarch.

(8) The 25th of the month of Rajab of exalted rank, in the year eight hundred and ninety-six (3 June 1491 A.D.). The stone-carver (is) Ladhan (?), son of Jalāl of Nāgaur.

It may be interesting to note that Jilwānī was the name of an Afghān tribe several members of which, such as 'Alāu'd Dīn and Babban Jilwānī, figure prominently in the history of the Lūdī kings of Delhi. Firishta, as a matter of fact, mentions one Abā Bakr who was a relation of Muḥammad Khān Nāgorī, the governor of Chanderi under Sulṭān Sikander Lūdī, who along with his brother 'Alī Khān, fled to the royal court and was appointed governor of Meopur in the year 922 A.H., just a year before the Sulṭān's death. The surname Jilwānī, however, is not added to his name by Firishta.[5] Another noteworthy fact which emerges from this inscription is that the stone-carver was not always the scribe of an inscription, but it was usually composed by some scholar, written calligraphically by a scribe, and finally carved by a mason. In many cases, however, the last two functions were combined by the same person.

The next inscription from Hansi belonging to the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lūdī has been found on the north-west corner inside the Barsi gate. It commemorates the building of a gate along-with repairs to the *'Alā'ī ḥiṣn* (fortress or rampart) and is in a beautiful *Naskh*-cum-*Kūfī* script. It is dated 928 A.H., and mesaures 20″×15″, containing altogether five lines.

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(۱) بناء عمارت این دروازهٔ متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علائی

(۲) که مؤرخست سنه اثنی و سبعمایه در عهد سلطان السلاطین ابو المظفر

(۳) ابراهیم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل مسند عالی حمید خان بن

(۴) مهابتخان کمال و در شقداری خواجه فتح محمد و بفرمایش آصف ابن ؟ کمال

(۵) بختیار فی الخامس من شهر ذی القعده سنه ثمان [ع]شرین فتسعمایه کاتب خلیل الله نصیر مفتی هانسوی

[1] Probably Abū'l Fatḥ Jaunpūrī, d. 858 A.H.

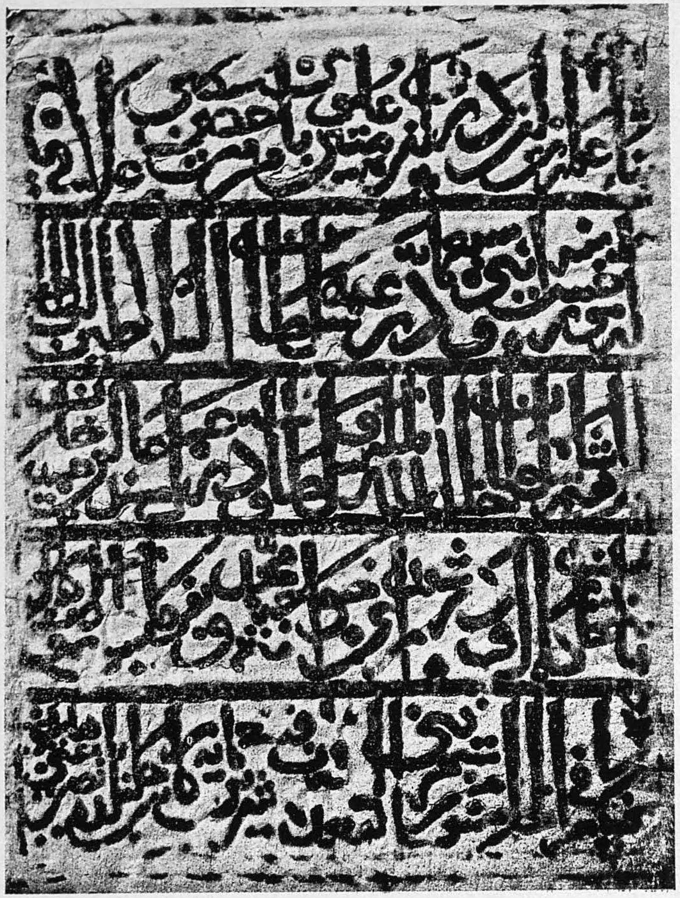
[2] *Sajjāda* (prayer-carpet) which together with the *khirqa* (mantle) was an emblem of saintly authority inherited by a disciple from his master.

[3] He would appear from his name to be a descendent of Shaikh Jamālu'd Dīn Hānswī.

[4] The name here reads like *Dharmān* or *Dahrmān*, but the reading is doubtful.

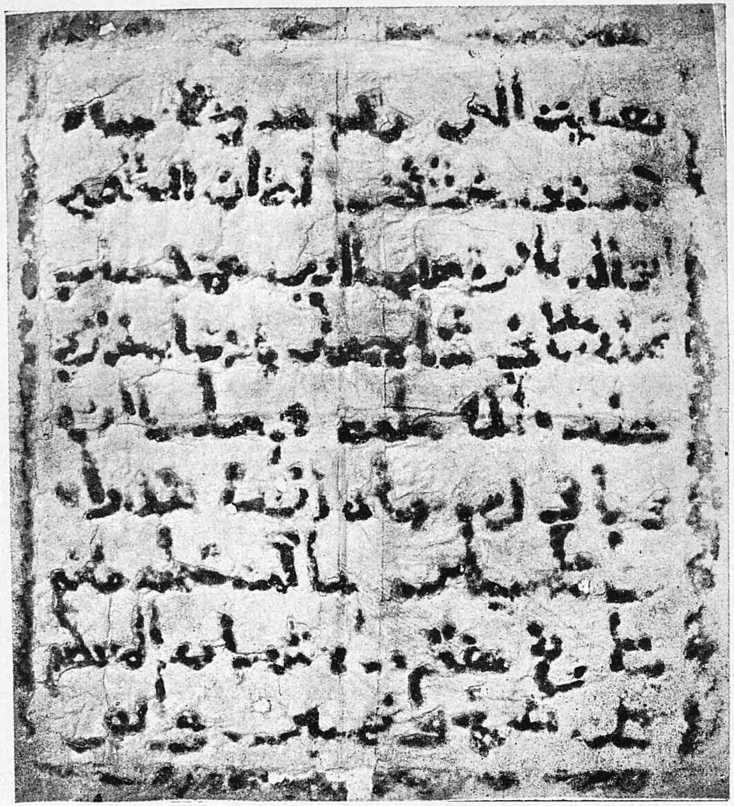
[5] *Opp. cit.*, *p.* 185.

(*a*) From the n.w. corner inside Barsi Gate, Hansi



Scale : ·25

(*b*) On the western wall of the tomb of S͟hāh Muḥammad Jamīl S͟hahīd, Hansi



Scale : ·2

TRANSLATION

(1) The foundation of the building of this strong and lofty gate (was laid) together with repairs to the well-protected 'Alā'ī fortress,

(2) which is dated 702 A.H., during the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, the victorious King

(3) Ibrāhīm Shāh Sulṭān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and suzerainty! and during the governorship of Masnad-i-'Ālī Ḥamīd Khān,[1] son of

(4) Mahābat Khān Kamāl and in the *shiqdārī*[2] of Khwāja Fatḥ Muḥammad at the instance of Āṣaf, son of Kamāl

(5) Bakhtiyār, on the 5th of Dhu'l Qa'da in the year nine hundred and twenty-eight (26 Sept. 1522 A.D.). The writer of these words (is) Khalīlu'llāh Naṣīr Muftī Hānswī.

The next inscription in order, from Hansi, found on the western wall of the tomb of Shāh Muḥammad Jamīl Shahīd situated in Muḥalla Mughalpūra is in Persian and belongs to the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Measuring about 18″ by 24″, it consists of nine lines written in a characterless *Naskh* script, and judging from the estampage at my disposal, several letters have lost their sharpness of outline and are not easily legible, due probably to the corrosive action of the weather. It runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate II (b)

(۱) بعنایت الهی..............

(۲) در دولت خدا داد سلطان السلاطین

(۳) ابوالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب

(۴) قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی

(۵) خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

(٦) و بانی این چاه(؟)..........

(۷)......................

(۸) بتاریخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم

(۹) سنه تسع و خمسین و الف

TRANSLATION

(1) By the grace of God ....

(2) In the benign reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns,

(3) Abū'l Muẓaffar Shihābu'd Dīn Muḥammad, Ṣāḥib-i-

(4) Qirān the Second,[3] Shāh Jahān Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī,

[1] Masnad-i-'Ālī was a common title for ministers and other high state officials in the Lūdī period. Ḥamīd Khān was still in charge of the Hisar District when Bābur invaded India, for he was sent out to meet the latter and was defeated by Humāyūn. Firishta, *opp. cit.*, p. 204.

[2] A *shiqdār* was a petty administrator in charge of a *pargana*.

[3] 'He of the Auspicious Conjunction'. The first *Ṣāḥib-i-qirān* was Amīr Tīmūr.

(5) may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(6) and the builder of this well (?)...............

(7) ....

(8) On the 7th day of the exalted month of Sha'bān

(9) in the year 1059 A.H. (6 Aug. 1649 A.D.).

It is unfortunate that the lines Nos. 6 and 7, are too indistinct to be properly deciphered, and so it is difficult to ascertain the name of the builder of the well. It is clear that the inscription, as in the case of the inscription from Batala (see page 10), actually commemorates some other construction and was later on affixed to the tomb. Its calligraphy is in marked contrast with that of the inscription mentioned above and indicates a general decline of the art as far as the *Naskh* script is concerned.

The last inscription from Hansi is in Persian verse and belongs to the Mughul period. It is found over the central *miḥrāb* of the Jūlāhon kī masjid and measures 1′ by 1⅜′. It is in *Nasta'līq* script and runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) بصدق دل نموده شیخ منـ[جهو][1]

(۳) بنائ مسجدی از روی تدقیق

(۴) چو جستم سال تاریخ بنایش

(۵) خرد گفتا که بیت الله بتحقیق

(۶) در عهد ابو المظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاه غازی فی سنه ۱۰۹۸ یکهزار و نود و هشت راقمه عبد الرسول ولد........[2]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God the Merciful, the Beneficent.

(2) With a sincere heart, Shaikh Manjhū laid

(3) the foundation of a mosque in a beautiful and finely decorative style.

(4) When I sought the date of its building,

(5) Wisdom said : *veritably, (it is) the House of God.*

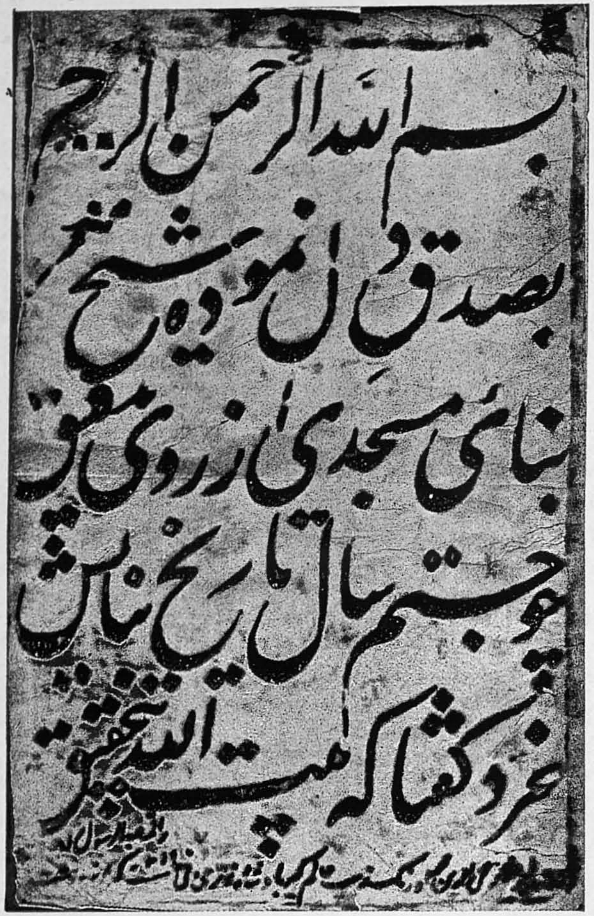
(6) In the reign of Abū'l Muẓaffar Muḥyiu'd Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī in the year 1098, one thousand and ninety and eight. The writer of this is 'Abdu'l Rasūl, son of...............

---

[1] The rubbing has only منـ; the name has been completed by conjecture.

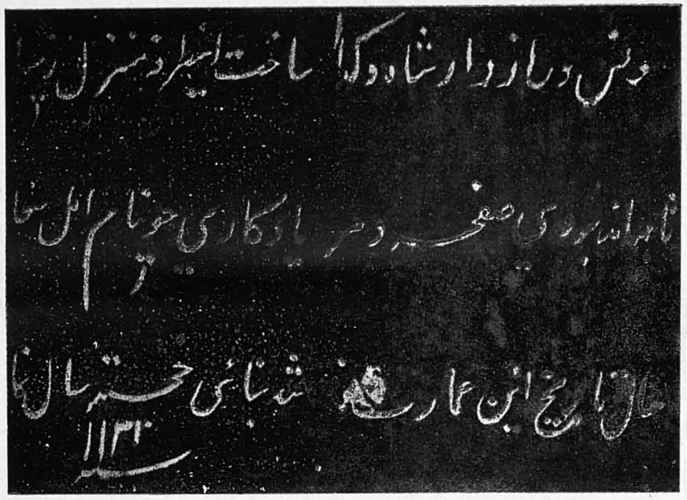
[2] The name is missing in the estampage.

(*a*) Over the central miḥrāb, Jūlāhon kī Masjid, Hansi



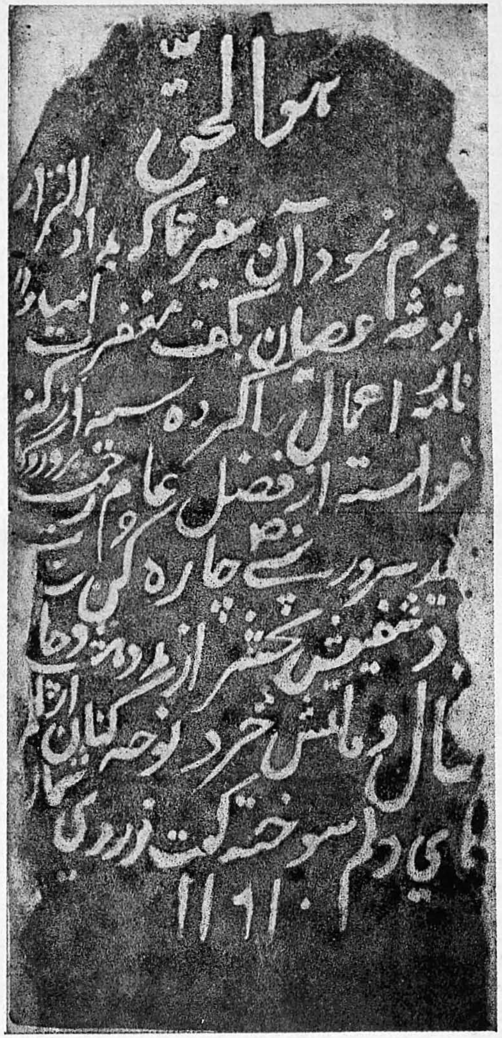
Scale : ·24

(*b*) From the tomb of Raḥmat ‘Alī Shāh, Kangra



Scale : ·14

(*c*) Found near the Police thana, Kotla, Dt. Kangra



Scale : ·16

INSCRIPTION FROM KANGRA

This inscription, in an elegant *Nasta'līq* hand, found on the tomb of Raḥmat ' Alī Shāh in Kangra town, measures 2′ by 1¼′ and comprises three Persian couplets. It is dated 1131 A.H., and is as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (*b*)

(۱) مونس و رازدار شاه و گدا ساخت اینطرفه منزل زیبا

(۲) تا بماند بروی صفحهٔ دهر یادگاری چو نام اهل سخا

(۳) سال تاریخ این عمارت نو شد بنائی خجسته سال بنا

سنه ۱۱۳۱

TRANSLATION

(1) The companion and close associate of the king and the beggar built this novel and beautiful abode,

(2) so that it may endure on the surface of the earth as a memorial even like the name of a generous person.

(3) The date of the erection of this new building was found to be : The year of foundation is *Binā-i-Khujista* (auspicious building). Year 1131.

The words بنائی خجسته supply the chronogram which, on calculation, yields the date 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION FROM KOTLA, DISTRICT KANGRA

The following inscription consists of four Persian couplets written in crude *Nasta'līq* script, and was found near the police *thāna* in Kotla. It was apparently affixed to some tomb and commemorates the year of a certain person's death who is mentioned only as " that Safīr " (envoy).[1] As in the previous case the date is contained in a chronogram. The inscriptional slab measures about 1′ 3″ by 2′ 10″.

TEXT

Plate III (*c*)

(۱) هو الحق

(۲) عزم نمود آن سفیر تا که بدار القرار

(۳) توشهٔ عصیان بکف مغفرت امیدوار

(۴) نامهٔ اعمال را کرده سیه از گنه

(۵) خواستهٔ از فضل عام رحمت پروردگار

(۶) سید سرور نبی چاره کن سیأت

---

[1] This of course is the usual sense of the word *safīr* but it might have been used in the inscription in the sense of *musāfir* (traveller).

(۷) باد شفیعش بحشر از مدد هشت و چار

(۸) سال وفاتش خرد نوحه کنان از الم

(۹) های دلم سوخته گفت ز روی شمار

۱۱۶۱

TRANSLATION

(1) God is the Truth.

(2) Since that envoy (or traveller) has resolved to betake himself to the Eternal Abode,

(3) the provision of disobedience in his hand, hoping for forgiveness,

(4) having blackened the scroll of his deeds by his sins,

(5) (and) seeking from common bounty the mercy of God,

(6) may the noble Prophet, the redeemer of sins,

(7) be his intercessor on the day of Resurrection with the help of the Eight and Four.[1]

(8) The year of his death, Wisdom, wailing with grief,

(9) calculated to be: *Alas! my heart burns!* 1161 (A.H.=1747-48 A.D.).

The numerical values of the letters in های دلم سوخته when added up give the date 1161.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KAITHAL

The first of these, found on a tablet of grey stone fixed on the left side of the central *miḥrāb* of Shāh Wilāyat's mosque at Kaithal,[2] is in Persian verse and commemorates the building of an important fortress by Sulṭān 'Alāu'd Dīn Khaljī in the last part of the month of Sha'bān. The inscription, unfortunately is not complete and the line containing the date has completely disappeared, while a portion of the fourth line is also missing. It consists altogether of four lines and measures 3¼′ by 1¼′. The script used is an elegant form of the *Naskh* similar to that employed in this period, and each of the four lines contains four hemistiches.

It runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

(۱) بعهد دولت شاه معظـــم شهنشاه بنین و بنات آدم (*sic.*)[3]

علاء الدین و دنیا تاجداری که مثلش نیست اندر دهر باری

(۲) محمد شـــاه سلطان السلاطین که تا عالم بود شه باد آمین

همای دولتش پر[4] باز بادا سعـــادت دایمش همراز بادا

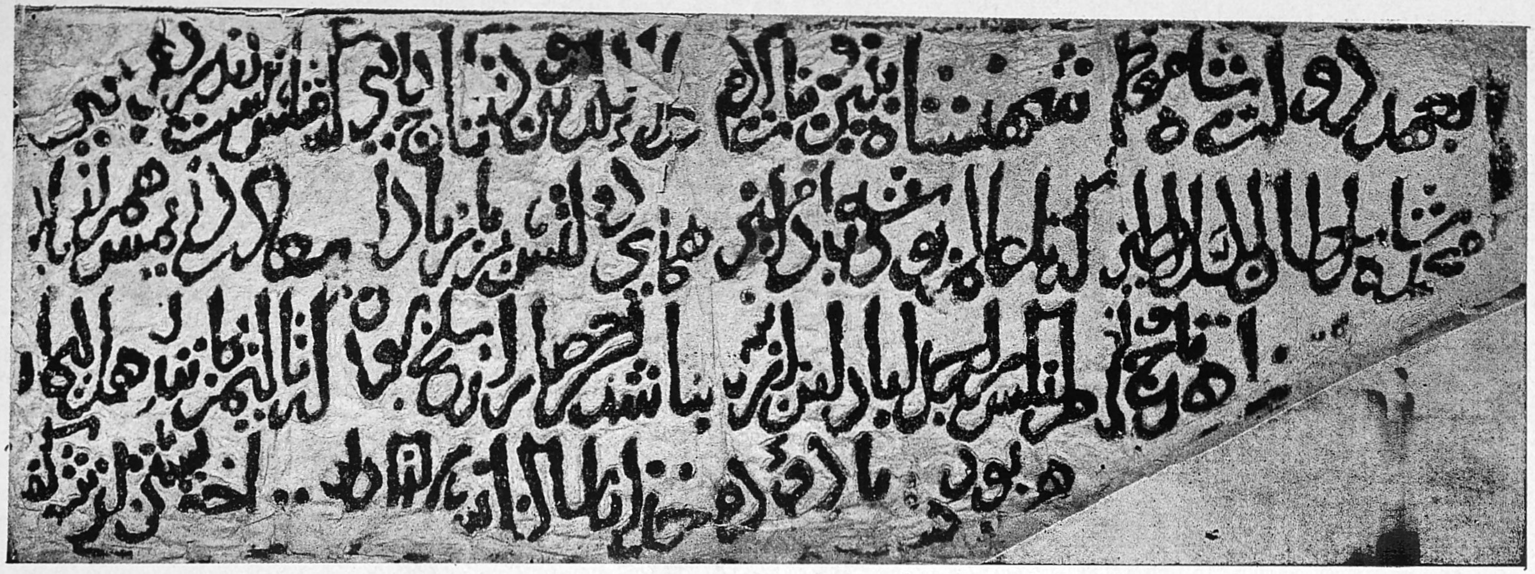
[1] The Eight and Four are the twelve Imāms. The tomb apparently was that of a Shī'a Muslim.

[2] The inscription evidently must have been removed from its original place and fixed in the mosque in later times as the mosque could not have been built by 'Alāu'd Dīn Khaljī nor can the word *ḥiṣār* be properly applied to a mosque.

[3] Thus in the original. The line does not scan properly.

[4] The original has پرباز , but the word may also be read as پرتاز .

(*a*) On the left of the central miḥrāb, Shāh Wilāyat's Mosque, Kaithal



Scale : ·23

(*b*) On Miyān Ṭaiyib's Mosque, Kaithal

Scale : ·2

(۳) (جزاو هرکس که) خواهد تاج و افسر   مر آنکس را جدا بادا تن از سر
بنا شد این حصار ازسلخ شعبان   که تا ایمن بمانند اهل ایمان

(۴) ....[1]   ....
خدایا ساکنانش را نگه دار   بقتل خویشتن از تیغ کفّار

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, the Emperor of the sons and daughters of Adam, 'Alā-u'd Dīn wa'd Dunyā, a crowned monarch, the like of whom there is none in the whole world,

(2) Muḥammad Shāh the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, who may remain king till the end of time, Amen! May the phoenix of his kingdom soar high (and) may good fortune ever be his close companion!

(3) Besides him whoever aspires to seize the throne and the crown, may that one's head be severed from his body. This fortress was built on the last day of Sha'bān, so that the believers might rest in safety.

(4) .... O God! Guard its dwellers from destroying themselves by the sword of the infidels.

The other inscription from Kaithal, in Persian verse, belongs to the reign of the Mughul Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. It measures approximately 24″ by 15″ and consists of three couplets separated from each other by two thick, dividing lines while a third line running at right angles to these two separates the lines (*miṣrā's*) of the three couplets. The whole inscription is thus divided into six sections, each containing one line. It appears on a mosque at Kaithal, known as Miyān Ṭaiyib's mosque.

It runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV (*b*)

(۱) میان طیب بکیتل مسجدی ساخت   که [ن]اید کار خیر از غیر طیب
(۲) ز[2] رازی سال تعمیرش چو پرسید   برمزش گفت و ایما خیر طیب
(۳) نام طیب سه حرف دان چون گنج   هریکی در حساب پنجه و پنج

TRANSLATION

(1) Miyān Ṭaiyib constructed a mosque at Kaithal, for, a virtuous act cannot come from one who is not *ṭaiyib* (pure).

(2) When (some one) asked in confidence about the date of its construction, the virtuous Ṭaiyib said to him by way of allegory and allusion :

(3) Consider the name Ṭaiyib to be of three letters like the word *ganj* (treasure), each one of which has to be counted fifty-five (times).

[1] Mostly illegible except for a few words.

[2] The letter before رازی is indistinct. It may possibly be د instead of ز, and درازی in that case may be the pen-name of the poet who composed the chronogram. If so, the translation, of course, will be : when Darāzī wanted to know the year, etc

Now the three letters of the name Ṭaiyib (ط - ی - ب) have the total numerical value 21, which when multiplied by 55, gives the date of the construction of the building, i.e., 1155 A.H. (1742-43 A.D.). It will be noticed that the first two couplets have the same metre [1] and rhyme, while the third has an altogether different metre.[2] The writing, as in the case of the inscription of Shāh Jahān from Hansi, is in a crude *Naskh* style.

INSCRIPTION FROM BATALA

This inscription, the last of the group, appears on the tomb of Shamshīr Khān at Batala, a well-known town in the district of Gurdaspur. Batala lies in 30°49′ N and 75°12′ E, on the Amritsar-Pathankot railway line, 20 miles from Gurdaspur, and was founded during the reign of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lūdī by a Bhatti Rajput, Rāi Rām Deo, whence the name Batala (Bhatti-āla or Bhatti-wāla).[3] The inscription, which is in Arabic, consists of three lines and measures about 24″ by 15″. It belongs to the reign of Akbar and runs thus :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذی وفق علی بناء الحوض و المسجد والروض حسبة لله ابتدا تاريخ (كذا) ۲۵ شهر صفر سنه ۹۹۷

(۲) اتمامه ۱۰ رمضان سنه ۹۹۸ من هجرة [4] النبويه فی خلافة امام الاسلام و المسلمين ابوالفتح جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی

(۳) بانيها الراجی الی رحمة الله المنان اضعف العباد شمشير خان بن دستگير خان[5] راجپوت ساكن پرگنه......من سركار مانكپور عفی عنه و غفرت ذنوبه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God who made possible the construction of this tank and mosque and garden for the sake of Divine pleasure. It was commenced on the 25th of the month of Ṣafar in the year 997 A.H. (3 Jan. 1589 A.D.)

(2) and completed on the 10th of Ramaḍān in the year 998 of the migration of the Prophet (3rd July 1590) during the caliphate of the Imām of Islām and the Muslims, Abū'l Fatḥ Jalālu'd Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

(3) The builder thereof (is) one who hopes for the mercy of God, the Benevolent, the weakest of (His) creatures Shamshīr Khān, son of Dastagīr Khān Rājpūt, living in the *pargana* .... of *sarkār* Mānikpūr, may God forgive him and cover up his sins.

This inscription is remarkable in several respects. It has been written in a beautifully elegant *Naskh* script and the scribe has tried to fill up the entire space at his disposal as closely as possible, so that it has become difficult to follow the right sequence of the words in the epigraph. In the second and the third lines especially, the words have been written so close together and woven into such intricate patterns that the whole inscription has become a sort of puzzle which it is not so

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[1] A form of the *hazaj*.

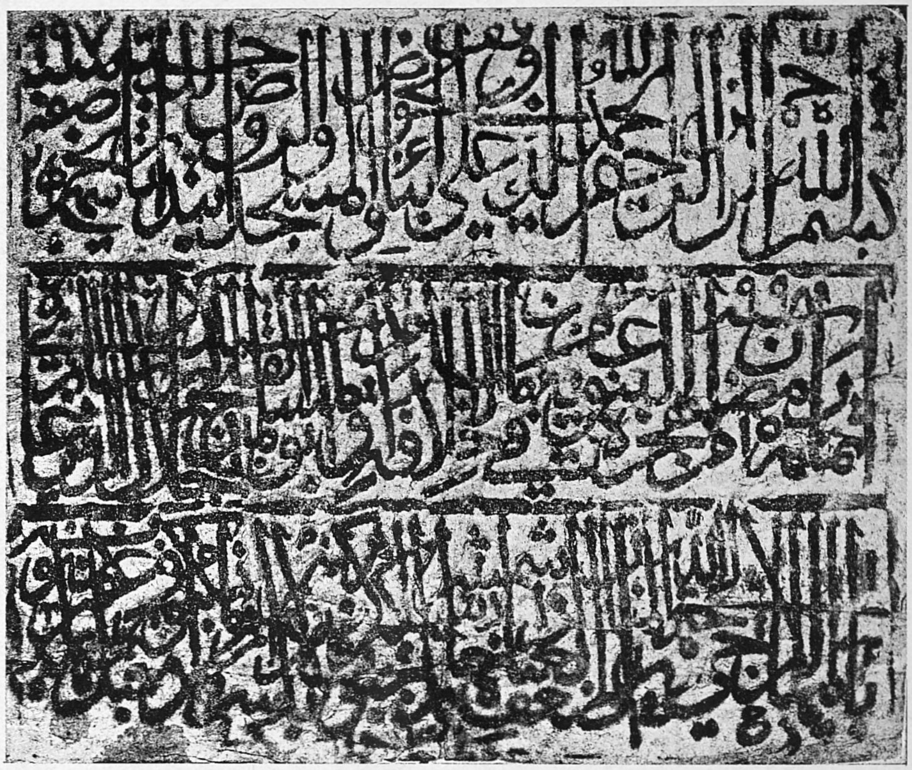
[2] A form of the *khafīf*.

[3] *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 1908, VII, p.133.

[4] There is a word placed just above this which is not legible.

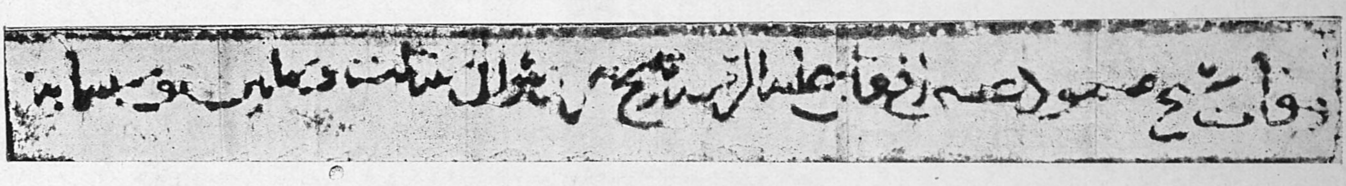
[5] The reading is doubtful.

(*a*) From the tomb of Shamshīr Khān, Batala



Scale : ·3

(*b*) From the Pīrastān, Etamda



Scale : ·15

(*c*) From the same place, Etamda

Scale : ·15

easy to solve. That is why, inspite of repeated attempts, I have not been able to decipher successfully a portion of the third line,[1] (which contains the name of the *pargana*), and have left out the portion in the transcription given above. The more important part, however, of the inscription has been satisfactorily read, and it points to a very interesting fact, namely that the inscription was not written originally for the tomb on which it appears now. It commemorates on the other hand the construction of a tank, a mosque, and a garden by Shamshīr Khān who lies buried in the tomb bearing the inscription. Where was it originally fixed ? Perhaps on the mosque itself beside which was dug the tank, or possibly on one of the gates of the garden which surrounded the mosque and which has now disappeared along with it.[2] Then, long after the death of Shamshīr Khān some loving and thoughtful hand must have removed it from its original place among the ruins of the mosuqe and the garden, and placed it on the tomb which was erected on his mortal remains, so that the memory of his life's work might live in his death.

Another interesting question raised up by the inscription is : who was Shamshīr Khān ? According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, he was a foster-brother of Akbar and was granted the fief of Batala by the Emperor. He is further said to have improved and beautified the town and to have constructed outside it a magnificent tank still in perfect condition. But strangely enough Shamshīr Khān's name is not mentioned in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, either in the list of Akbar's *manṣabdārs* or among the children of his two well known foster-mothers, Māham Anaga and Jījī, although presumably he must have held a *manṣab*. The name also is not mentioned by Firishta or Azād in his *Darbār-i-Akbarī* and I have not been able to find the authority for the statement in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. It is, nevertheless, clear from the inscription that Shamshīr Khān must have been a person of some consequence in Akbar's time, which is further proved by the building of a tomb for him which is described in the *Gazetteer* as 'massive'[3] and which together with the tank, has survived the ravages of time, and forms one of the three historical monuments[4] of Batala. Akbar is said to have had several foster-mothers and it is quite likely that Shamshīr Khān was the son of one of them, not so well known as the two mentioned above. The inscription, of course, does not give us the date of Shamshīr Khān's death, but it proves conclusively that he was the builder of the tank which still keeps his memory alive and bears eloquent testimony to his able administration of the fief held by him.[5]

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQ PERIOD FROM THE VILLAGE OF ETAMDA IN BHARATPUR DISTRICT

By Y. K. Bukhari

A few years back the curator, State Museum, Bharatpur, furnished information to me about the existence of five inscriptions in Persian and Arabic in the village of Etamda, taluk Vair, District Bharatpur, Rajasthan. I brought the same to the notice of the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions, who desired me to visit the place and prepare estampages of the aforesaid epigraphs. I, accordingly, complied with his instructions and collected inked rubbings of five epigraphs from the village out of which four are being studied in this paper.

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1 This has been partially due to the rubbing at my disposal having become faint and indistinct in this particular portion.

2 No mention is made in the *Imperial Gaz. of India* of any mosque near the tank.

3 *Imp. Gaz*, loc. cit.

4 I.e., the tomb and tank of Shamshīr Khān, and Anār Kalī, a building erected by Shīr Singh, the son of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh who held the fief of Batala under his father (*Imp. Gaz.*, loc. cit.).

5 Nahāwandī in his *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī*, I, p. 861 mentions one Shamshīr Khān Khoñjasarā who was placed in charge of the *Khāliṣa* lands in Bihar in the year 986 A.H., but apparently he was a different man.

The village of Etamda lies at a distance of two miles north from the Police station, Bhusawar. On a mound, called *Pīrastān* by the local residents, in the village, are two tombs of unpretentious nature in dilapidated condition. The enclosures of the tombs have reduced to the level ground but traces of the walls are still visible. The local people assign the occupation of the tombs to certain *pīrs* (or saints) who flourished in the mediaeval times and hence call the place as *Pīrastān* (seat of saints). The occupants of the tombs are held in great reverence by the inhabitants of the village consisting of Faqirs, Gujars, Dhakars, Banyas, Telis and other communities. Both Hindus and Muslims alike perform certain ceremonies and dance around the tombs on the occasions of marriage and birth.

There are two inscribed slabs of red sandstone fixed side by side in the ground (not in their original positions), standing vertically a few yards away from the ruined tombs. I had to unearth the covered portion of the inscriptions nearly two feet deep. The third slab of red sandstone nearly of the same size is lying loose just beside the above epigraphs. It is in Persian interspersed with the traditions and verses from the Holy Quran. The epigraph is much worn out and exposed to the inclemency of weather. There are two more epitaphs carved on tombstones about fifteen yards away southward from the tombs, recording the death of their respective occupants. The tombstones were lying half buried in the ground detached from their right place. I removed and washed the dust and lime of the stone slab to render the epigraphs intelligible.

The first three inscriptions refer to the sad demise of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Īsā Afghān while the fourth one records the death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān.

A unique style has been adopted in these inscriptions. Ordinarily they do not give Persian translation of the Quranic verses or traditions of the Prophet, but here they have supplied it and the same has helped me decipher the blurred portions of the Arabic text. The traditions quoted in the inscriptions are very unusual as only one could be traced in two authoritative books of the traditions referred to *infra*. Names of rulers and builders of the tombs are not mentioned in the epigraphs.

The personages referred to in the epigraphs are not traceable in the historical works and hagiographies. It appears that the saints might have come from Afghānistān and settled there as is clear from the word Afghān suffixed to their names. Probably, they were learned theologians and saints, flourishing during the Tughluq period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The inscriptional slab is fixed in the ground, a few yards away from the ruined tomb, on a terrace. The stone slab is in a vertical position and measures 1'9"×4'8". It consists of twenty inscribed lines of Persian prose interspersed with religious texts. At the foot of the inscription there are two uninscribed medallions on either side and an arch-shaped inscribed panel in the middle, containing the name and the date of the death of one Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Īsā in the year 783 A.H. (1381 A.D.). It appears that the slab was originally fixed to the grave and it was subsequently removed to its present position. The script is *Naskh* of inartistic merit carved in relief. It is too much damaged but I have tried to read the inscription on the stone which bears faint traces of some of the words that have peeled off.

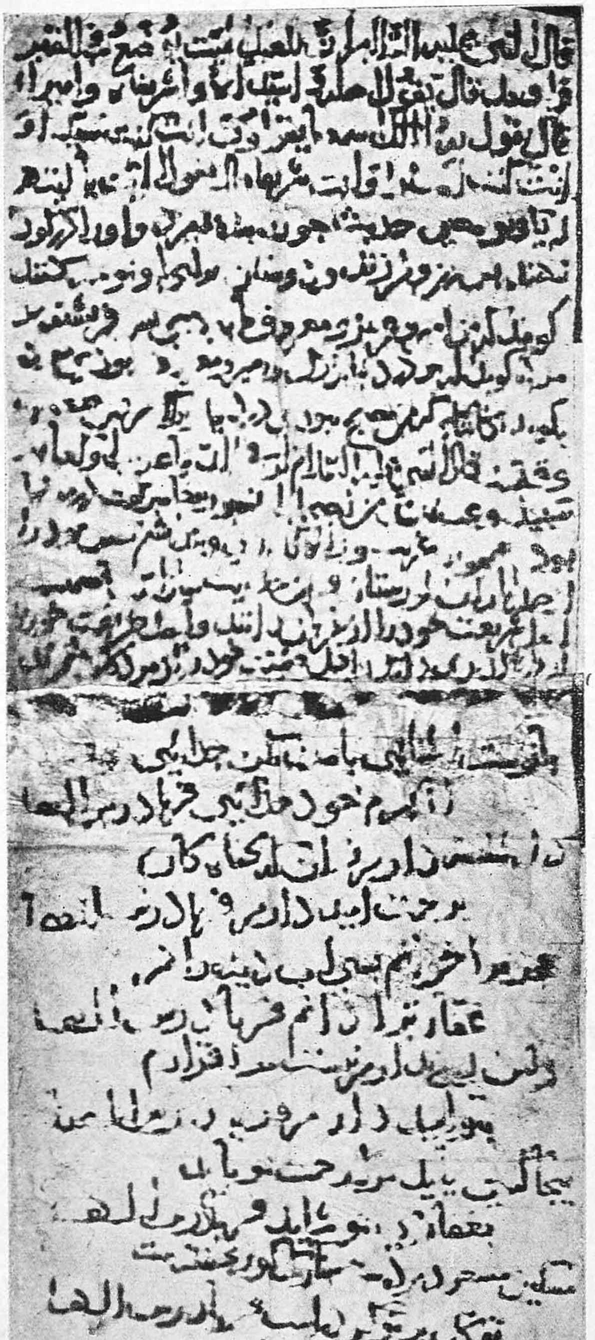
The religious text given in the inscription sheds light on the instability of the world and enjoins on us to refrain from indulging in worldly pleasures as life is but a passing phase and one has to account for one's actions overt and covert before the Omniscient.

PLATE VI

(*a*) Fixed in the ground, near a ruined tomb, Pīrastān, Etamda

Scale : ·155

(*b*) Beside (*a*)



Scale : ·125

The historical portion of the epigraph occurs in the arched panel below the religious text. It mentions neither the name of the ruler nor that of the builder of the tomb. The occupant of the tomb was probably a *ṣūfī* of his age and seems to have held important social status in the Tughluq period. I read the inscription as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم الذی خلق الموت

(۲) و الحیوة عالی است آن خداوند که بیافرید مرگ و زندگانی

(۳) را چه حکمت بود که مرگ را مقدم بآن کرد حکمت این بود

(۴) منغض گردد بر بندگان انچ ایشان دوست دارند

(۵) قوله تعالے انما الحیوة الدنیا لعب و لهو معنی آیت

(۶) زندگانی دنیا بازیست چون بازی کودکان که کودکان از

(۷) خانه بیرون آیند بر اسپان چوبین سوار شوند خانها

(۸) از خاک کنند ساعتے دران بخوشی مشغول شوند چون

(۹) ساعتے بگذرد ترک آن خانهاء شادیها گیرند [و] پراگنده شوند

(۱۰) قال النبی علیه السلام سد السفینة فان البحر عمیقٌ

(۱۱) عمیق و احمل الزاد فان الطریق بعیدٌ بعیدُ

(۱۲) فاخلص العمل فان الناقد بصیرٌ بصیرُ بادر عج[لوا]

(۱۳) فان [1][العمر] قصیرٌ قصیرُ معنی سخت بندید کشتے

(۱۴) را که دریا غرقابست غرقاب و توشه بر

(۱۵) دارید که راه دورست دور و کردارها

(۱۶) نیکو کنید که سره کننده بیناست بینا و بشتابید

(۱۷) به سوی توبه که عمر کوتاه است کوتاه [حدیث]

(۱۸) بترجمه شد گفت صلوت الله علیه مکن صحبت با هر که

(۱۹) خواهی آخر از وی جدا شوی..............

(۲۰) که خواهی آخر بمیرے

---

[1] The word 'العمر' is omitted in the epigraph.

In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

یادگار

بنده امیدوار

شیخ مسعود عیسی

شهور سنه ثلث و ثمانین

و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate Who has created death

(2) and life. Sublime is the Master Who has created death and life.

(3-4) The philosophy in mentioning 'Death' before 'Life' was to imbibe in His servants an aversion to everything they hold dear to them.

(5) The Most High Allāh says: The worldly life is a game full of attraction. The meaning of the verse (is):

(6) The worldly life is a game, like the game of children. Children come out

(7) of their homes, ride on the horses of staffs, make

(8) toy-houses of clay and enjoy the fun for a while.

(9) As the period of their enjoyment comes to an end, they demolish the fabrics and pick up handfuls of dust and disperse.

(10) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said: Hold your boats firmly as the sea is very very deep;

(11) and carry with you (sufficient) provisions as the journey is very very long,

(12) make your actions righteous as the tester is omniscient; be quick

(13) in your repentence as [life is] very very short.

(14-17) (Translation of the tradition into Persian).[1] [The tradition]

(18) has been translated: (The Prophet), peace be on him, has said: Do not associate with every one

(19) dear to thee as eventually thou art to pass away and ....

(20) which thou wantest, at last thou shalt die.

In the arch-shaped panel at the base.

Memorial of the hopeful slave Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Īsā, *Shahūr San* seven hundred and eighty-three (783 A.H.=1381 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

Carved on a slab of red sandstone, this epigraph is placed vertically beside the above inscription. It is purely of religious nature and consists of thirty four lines altogether. Of them, the first fifteen are in Arabic and Persian prose, the next sixteen in Persian verse and the last three again in Persian

[1] These lines constitute Persian translation of the Tradition, which has been already translated in ll. 10-13.

prose. They teach us that the world and its charms are all transitory and that one must not look upon the world as his home. The composition of Persian verse is defective inasmuch as most of the couplets do not rhyme properly. The inscription is undated, but the name of the occupant of the grave Mas'ūd ('Īsā) is given, who is the same person as referred to in the above inscription (No. 1), and this shows that this epigraph ending in the word تمت (or completed) supplements the above beginning with بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم . The script is *Naskh* of an ordinary type and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱) قال النبی علیه السلام ان العبد المیت یوضع فے القبر

(۲) و افعل قال یقول اهله وا سیداه وا شریفاه و امیراه

(۳) قال یقول له الملک اسم[ع] ما یقولون انت کنت سیدا و

(۴) انت کنت امیرا و انت شریفا قال یقول المیت یا لیتهم

(۵) لم یکونو معنی حدیث چون بنده میرد و او را در گور

(۶) نهند پس زن و فرزند و دوستان براے او نوحه کنند

(۷) گویند که تو (؟) امیر و عزیز و معروف ما بودی پس فرشته با

(۸) مرده گوید که تو در دنیا بزرگ و امیر و معرو[ف] بودی مرده

(۹) بگوید کاشکه من هیچ نبود[می] در دنیا زیرا که بروی صعب

(۱۰) وقتست قال النبی علیه السلام کن فے الدنیا [کانک] غریب او کعابر

(۱۱) سبیل و عد نفسک من اصحاب القبور پیغامبر گفت در دنیا

(۱۲) بودم همچون غریب و راه گذاری و پنداشتم نفس خود را

(۱۳) از جمله یاران گورستان و این حدیث میان امت قسمت است

(۱۴) اهل شریعت خود را از غریبان دانند و اهل طریقت خود را

(۱۵) از راه گذاری دانند و اهل حقیقت خود را از مردگان شمرند

(۱۶) باتوست آشنائی با من مکن جدائی

(۱۷) از کرم خود خدائی فریادرس الها

(۱۸) دل شکسته دارم زان که گناه گارم

(۱۹) برحمت امید دارم فریادرس الها

(۲۰) حمد ترا خوانم بسی آب دیده را نم

(۲۱) غفار ترا دانم فریادرس الها

(۲۲) رفیق کسے ندارم نیست مرا قرارم

(۲۳) بتو امید دارم فریادرس الها

(۲۴) [ا]ینجا کسی نیاید مرا رحمت تو باید

(۲۵) بغفاری تو شاید فریادرس الها

(۲۶) مسکین مسعود مرده [ا]ست بتاریک گور خفته است

(۲۷) توکل بر تو کرده است فریادرس الها

(۲۸) ای پاک سبحانی جاوید ملک رانی

(۲۹) برحمت مرا بخوانی فریادرس الها

(۳۰) سری که دارم با تو کس نداند جز تو

(۳۱) کاری ست مرا با تو فریادرس الها

(۳۲) خواجه امام گفت علیه الرحمه بهشت شناس بطاعت

(۳۳) کاهلی نکند و دوزخ شناس بگناه دلیری نکند و خدا

(۳۴) شناس بکسی طمع نکند و مرگ شناس بدنیا غره نشود تمت

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, peace be on him, has said : When a servant dies and is laid in a grave,

(2) his wife laments over him and says, 'Thou hadst been a noble and great man well known to us';

(3) thereupon the angel says to the dead, 'Hear what they say. Thou hadst been a man, great,

(4) noble and well known (in the world)'. The deadman says, 'Would that

(5) I were nothing'.[1] Meaning of the tradition : When a servant dies and he is interred in a grave,

(6) his wife, sons and friends weep over him

(7) saying, 'Thou hadst been a nobleman and greatman well known to us'. Thereupon the angel

(8) says to the dead man, 'Thou hadst been a great and noble man well known in the world'. The deadman

(9) replies, 'Would that I were nothing in the world', because he has a difficult

(10) time. The Prophet, peace be on him, has said : Be in the world like a stranger or wayfarer

(11) and firmly believe that you are one of the occupants of the graves.[2] The Prophet said :

(12) I had been in the world like a stranger and a wayfarer and considered myself to be

---

[1] This tradition of the Prophet is in Arabic. Its translation in Persian as given in the epigraph follows it.

[2] This is another tradition of the Prophet. Its translation in Presian as given in the epigraph follows immediately (cf. *Jāmi'u'l Bukhārī*, Kitābu'r Riqāq, chap. 3 ; *Tirmidhī Sharīf*, chap. on 'piety'.

(13) one of the occupants of the graves. This tradition has been variously interpreted by the followers (of the Prophet) :

(14) The followers of Islamic code consider themselves to be strangers, the gnostics,

(15) wayfarers and the realists, dead bodies.

(16) With Thee I am closely associated ; do not forsake me.

(17) By Thy grace, respond to (my) entreaties, O God !

(18) I have a broken heart because I am a sinner ;

(19) (but) I am hopeful of Thy mercy ; respond to (my) entreaties, O God !

(20) I sing praises to Thee, shed tears profusely ;

(21) I look upon Thee as the Forgiver, (so) respond to my entreaties, O God !

(22) I have no friend, no peace of mind ;

(23) to Thee I look up, respond to my entreaties, O God !

(24) Here nobody comes (to help), I need Thy mercy ;

(25) it behoves Thy Forgiving self to respond to (my) entreaties, O God !

(26) Poor Mas'ūd is dead, asleep in his dark grave ;

(27) he has confided in Thee, (so) respond to (his) entreaties, O God !

(28) O Thou Holy (and) Praiseworthy, Thy sovereignty is eternal ;

(29) call me in mercifully (and) respond to (my) entreaties, O God !

(30) The secrets which I have, are not known to any one but Thee ;

(31) I look up to Thee (alone), (so) respond to (my) entreaties, O God !

(32) Khwāja Imām, mercy be on him, said : He who is convinced of Paradise is not slack in his devotion ;

(33) and he who is convinced of Hell is not bold to commit sins ;

(34) and he who is convinced of God never desires any thing ; and he who is convinced of Death is not deceived by (the charms of) the world.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This epigraph is inscribed on one side of the tombstone which is lying half buried in slanting position away from the tomb-terrace at a distance of about 14 yards to the south. The inscribed portion is above the ground carved on either side of the cenotaph. On the southern facet is inscribed the first Muslim creed followed by the words اللهم اغفرلی بعد الموت (O Allāh ! forgive me after death). The chronological portion of the epigraph facing north is in one line only, executed in *Naskh* style, recording the death of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Īsā Afghān on the first of Shawwāl in the year 783 A.H. (19th December 1381 A.D.). The inscription reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

وفات شیخ مسعود عیسی افغان علیه الرحمه بتاریخ غره شوال سنه ثلث و ثمانین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

Death of Shaikh Mas'ūd 'Īsā Afghān, mercy be upon him, took place on the 1st of Shawwāl, year 783 (A.H.=19th December 1381 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription also is carved on a cenotaph of red sandstone close to the above mentioned one. On one side of the cenotaph are inscribed the first creed (کلمه) of Muslims and the same words اللهم اغفرلی بعد الموت (O Allāh ! forgive me after death) as in the previous one, while on the other side is an epigraph in one line recording the death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān on the 1st of Shawwāl Shahūr San 745 A.H. (1345 A.D.). The script is *Naskhī* of a crude type and the inscriptional slab measures 3′5″×5″. I have read the text as under :—

TEXT

Plate V (*c*)

وفات شیخ داؤد ثابت افغان ب[تار]یخ غره ماه شوال روز شنبه شهور سنه خمس و اربعین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

Death of Shaikh Dā'ūd Thābit Afghān took place on the 1st of the month of Shawwāl, Saturday, *Shahūr San* 745 (A.H.=5th February 1345 A.D.).

FOUR UNPUBLISHED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SULTAN BARBAK SHAH OF BENGAL

By Y. K. Bukhari

The Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions advised me to write an article on some pre-sixteenth century epigraphs of historical interest for publication in the Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement) ; accordingly, I selected some rubbings of the inscriptions from the province of Bengal, stored in our office, to comply with his suggestion. The estampages were prepared and collected long ago.

The inscriptions dealt with chronologically in this article ranging from the year 860 A.H. to 871 A.H. (1456 A.D. to 1466 A.D.), pertain to the time of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh of Bengal and cover a period of about eleven years of his reign, first in the capacity of a governor, and then as an independent king. Written in Arabic prose, they are four in number belonging to Tribeni, District Hooghly, Bara, District Birbhum, Peril, District Dacca, and Gurai, District Mymenshingh respectively. The style of writing is *Naskh* of various types, excepting one executed in *Ṭughrā* form in embossed letters. The text of the inscriptions begin with the usual verses from the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet in respect of construction of mosques as was the style in vogue in other Islamic countries. They assign construction of certain mosques to some high and elevated dignitaries and governors of the time.

It has been justly remarked that Bārbak Shāh's succession to his father's kingdom was undisputed and he had served with distinction as the viceroy of Satgaon.[1] Histories call him a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign.[2] The soldiers and civilians enjoyed happiness and safety of life in his reign. Firishta says that he had collected a large number of Abyssinian slaves and employed them in the army and in the palace. The king took them into confidence and consulted

[1] J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal* vol. II, p. 132.

[2] *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn*, p. 118 ; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* , III , p. 267.

them for important and significant matters of the state.[1] He probably hoped thereby to create a special class of officers on whom the crown could rely for unstinted support. He is said to have possessed about eight thousand of such slaves and allowed them gradually to monopolise most of the key positions in the state.[2]

The military activities of Bārbak Shāh's reign are casually recorded in a treatise named *Risālatu'sh Shuhadā* (Treatise of Martyrs), a biographical sketch of Shāh Ismā'īl Ghāzī—a saint of North Bengal, written by one Pīr Muḥammad Shaṭṭārī in 1042 A.H. (1633 A.D.).[3]

Bārbak Shāh evinced keen interest in Bengali literature. He conferred the title of *Gunarāj Khān* on Maladhar Basu, a poet of eminence in Bengali literature who commenced his *Sri Krishna Bijai* in Śaka 1395(1473 A.D.). The poet's son also received the title of *Satyarāj Khān*. The poet was a resident of Kulingram, District Burdwan, which might have been an integral part of the kingdom of Bārbak Shāh.[4]

Bārbak Shāh spent his life in comfort and ease. He is said to have died in 879 A.H. (1474 A.D.) and his reign lasted for seventeen or sixteen years.[5] The author of the *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn* quotes no authority about the authenticity of the period of Bārbak Shāh's reign. According to his statement, Bārbak Shāh died in 879 A.H. after a rule of seventeen or sixteen years and thus after calculation 862 A.H. or 863 A.H. falls as the first year of his reign. The same statement of the *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn* regarding the period of Bārbak Shāh's reign is accepted by C. Stewart who chiefly bases his information on the *Riyāḍ* and inserts the same in his History.[6]

The statements of both the authors regarding the commencement of Bārbak's reign are erroneous and are contradicted by the epigraphical and numismatical evidences (vide, inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh's reign dated 28th Dhī'l Ḥajjah, 863 A.H. or 26th October 1459 A.D.).[7] Maḥmūd Shāh, the father of Bārbak Shāh was alive, thus, on the 28th Dhī'l Ḥajjah, 863 A.H. one or two days before the commencement of the next year i.e., 864 A.H., as supported by the inscription and leaves no doubt that Bārbak Shāh might have succeeded his father in 864 A.H. as is indicated by an earliest inscription of his reign (inscription no. 2). Also the earliest coins of Bārbak Shāh's reign discovered so far bear the date 864 A.H.[8] The execution of Shāh Ismā'īl Ghāzī on Friday, 14th Sha'bān 878 A.H. (4th Jan. 1473 A.D.) affords a clear proof of Bārbak's survival in that year and it draws one to the conclusion that he might have died next year in 879 A.H., as supposed by the *Riyāḍ*.[9]

Eight inscriptions of the time of Bārbak Shāh were published by Blochmann in the issues of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and one by Maulavi Shamsud Din Ahmad in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. The earliest of them is dated 860 A.H., belonging to the period of Bārbak Shāh's governorship, while the subsequent ones are dated A.H. 865, 865, 868, 871, 876 (and one undated) in chronological sequence ascertaining a period of eleven years of his reign.[10]

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1 *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 580.

2 J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 135.

3 G. D. Damant published the text of the treatise with an abridged translation in *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, pp. 216-239. For a summary of some events of historical interest, see J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, pp. 133-34.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.

5 *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn*, Eng. trans. by M. Abdus Salam (Calcutta), p. 120; C. Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), p. 101; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, (Eng. trans.), p. 435.

6 C. Stewart, *opp. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

7 *J. A. S. B.* vol. XLII pt. I, 1873, p. 271; J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, p. 132.

8 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II, p. 167, coin nos. 135 & 148.

9 Blochmann describes a probable duration of Bārbak Shāh's reign from 864 A. H. to 879 A.H. J. N. Sarkar, *opp. cit.*, states that inscriptions extend his reign to Ramaḍān 879/Jan. 1474, but does not mention any inscription.

10 *J. A. S. B.* vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290; vol. XLII part I, 1873, pp. 272, 309; vol. XLIII part I, 1874, pp. 295, 296; vol. XLIV, 1875, p. 291; *J. A. S. B.*, 1910, N. S. VI, p. 29; *E. I. M.* for 1935-36, p. 58.

The inscription from Tribeni dated 860 A.H., published by Blochmann records the title of 'Malik' prefixed to the name of Bārbak Shāh, but in his later epigraphs he is styled both as 'Malik' and 'Sulṭān'. Blochmann thinks that the inscription from Tribeni belongs to the period when, as prince, Bārbak Shāh was governor of South Western Bengal in 860 A.H., and styles him as 'Malik' (prince) and not 'Sulṭān' (king). His view is also supported by Professor van Berchem as he thinks that the title of 'Malik' does not mean 'King' as it is used to be translated from Arabic poets and historians, but 'prince, feudatory' and even, in some cases, 'high officer'.[1] I agree with Blochmann partially that the epigraph from Tribeni (if the reading of the date is correct) belongs to the pre-kingship period of Bārbak Shāh, but the use of the titles of 'Malik' for a prince and 'Sulṭān' for a king was not strictly followed as the later epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh bear both the titles while he was *de facto* ruler of Bengal.

Another noticeable feature of two of these inscriptions is the use of *kunyah* 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' instead of the usual 'Abū'l Mujāhid'.[2] Blochmann supposes that the engraver is responsible for carving 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' in place of 'Abū'l Mujāhid' and further he refers to the old Persian dictionary known as *Sharaf Nāmah-i-Ibrāhīmī* which assigns the title of 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' to Bārbak Shāh. Blochmann argues that the title 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' mentioned in the Dictionary was meant for Bārbak Shāh of Jaunpur who ruled from 879 A.H. (the year when Bārbak Shāh of Bengal is said to have died) to 881 A.H.[3] This supposition is baseless. The engraver of the inscription does not appear to be responsible for inserting the word 'Abū'l Muẓaffar' for 'Abū'l Mujāhid', for the fact that both the titles were used for Bārbak Shāh, is supported by epigraphical evidence (vide inscription nos. 2 and 4).

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

On a stone slab measuring 2′2″×1′6″ lying near the grave of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī at Tribeni, District Hooghly (Bengal), is an inscription in Arabic prose, executed in *Naskhī* letters in relief. The text of the epigraph consists of four lines, of which the first line comprises a tradition of the Holy Prophet in respect of mosque construction and the rest record the erection of a mosque by the great Khān Ulugh Ajmal Khān during the governorship of Prince Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. The inscription is dated 860 A.H. (1455 A.D.). I have read the text as follows[4] :—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(١) قال الله تعالے ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بنى المسجد خان الاعظم

(٢) و خاقان المعظم الغ اجمل خان سلمه الله تعالى فى الدارين سرخيل خان معظم افراد

خان جامدار غير محلى

---

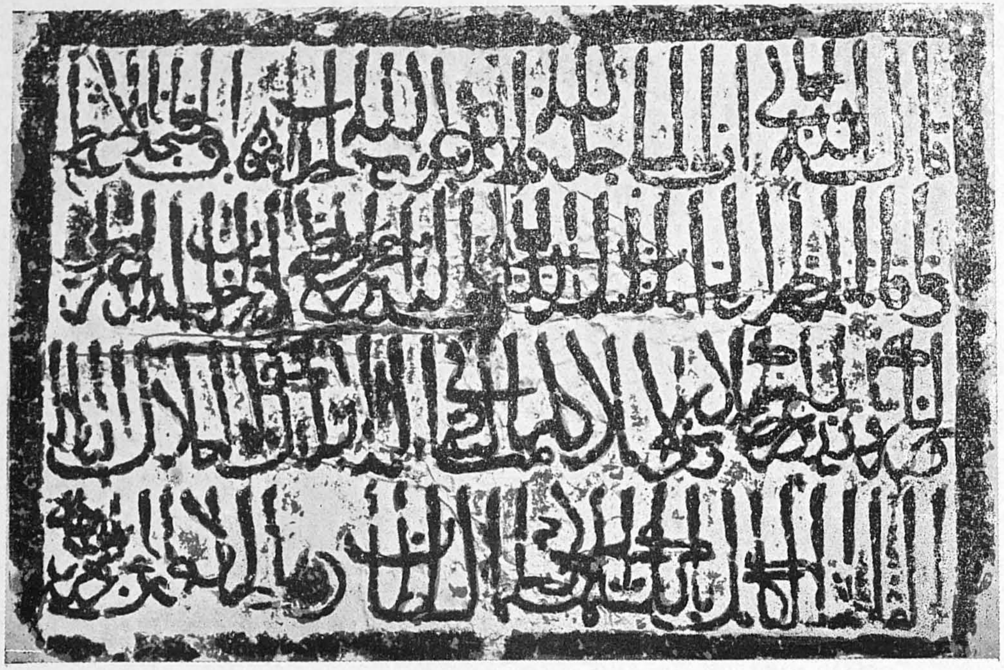
[1] *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 46.

[2] Except one all the inscriptions of Bārbak Shāh published so far contain 'Abū'l Mujāhid'.

[3] *J. A. S. B.* vol. XLIII part I, 1874, p. 297.

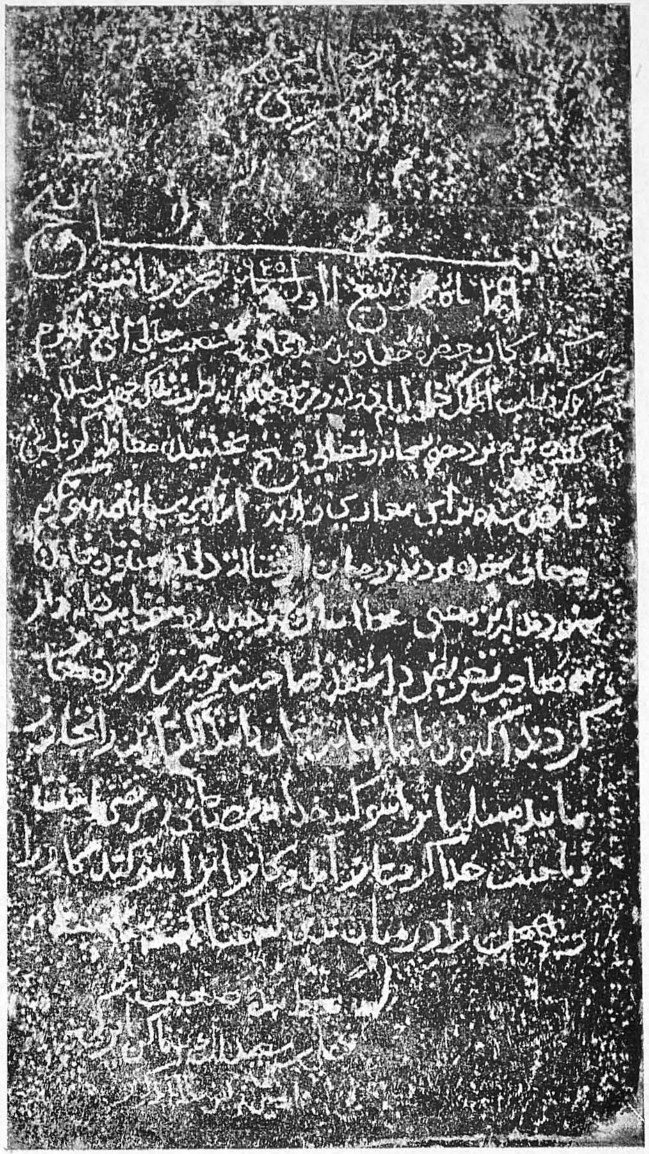
[4] This inscription has already been published without facsimile in the *J. A. S. B.* vol. XXXIX part I, 1870, p. 290, but I am including the same in this study with a view to publish its facsimile so that the readers may compare the text with facsimile. The date is not clear in the inscription. Blochmann's reading of the date as 860 A H. is very much doubtful. I also agree with Horovitz who is doubtful about Blochmann's decipherment of the date (vide *E. I. M.*, 1909-10, p. 130, no. 1237).

(*a*) Lying near the grave of Ẓafar Khān Ghāzī, Tribeni, Dt. Hooghly



Scale : ·2

(*b*) On a slab set up near the Erukula house, Kondapalli



Scale : ·18

(٣) و سر لشکر و وزیر عرصه ساجلا منکهباد و شهر لاوبلا دامت معالیه فی العهد الملک العادل الباذل

(٤) الفاضل الکامل باربک شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان فی الحادی من المحرم [ستین و ثمانمایه]

TRANSLATION

(1) God, the Exalted, has said: Verily, the mosques are set apart unto God; therefore, invoke no one else with God.[1] This mosque was erected by the exalted Khān,

(2) the elevated noble, Ulugh Ajmal Khān, may God keep him safe in this world and hereafter—the commander of the army of the high nobleman Iqrār Khān, guard of the royal *ḥarem*,

(3) commander and minister of the District of Sājlā Mankhabād and the town of Laobala—may his high qualities last for ever—in the governorship of the just, the liberal,

(4) the learned and the perfect king Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān. Dated the first Muḥarram [860] or 11th Dec. 1455 A.D.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

This inscription comes from Bara, District Birbhum and is written in Arabic prose, executed in *Naskh* characters in relief. The record consists of two lines badly abraded in several places, assigning the costruction of a mosque to certain Ulugh Ajlakā Khān, son of Bakhshish Khān during the reign of Bārbak Shāh and is dated 1st Jumādī I, 864 A. H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.). The inscriptional tablet is 3′6″×11″. The text is given below[2]:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (*a*)

(١) قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی الله تعالے فی الجنة قصرا بکل ذراع من المسجد بنی فی عهد سلطان العادل رکن الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر باربکشاه ابن محمود شاه سلطان

(٢) بانے هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان معظم الغ اجلکا (؟) خان ابن بخششخان سر گماشته قصبه دهاخا (؟) خالص لامام مولینا المشهور ؟ بقاضی ابن قاضی احمد ابن شیخ علاول فی التاریخ الحادی من شهر جمادی الاول سنه اربع و ستین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

The Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, has said: He who builds a mosque the earth, will have a palace built for him by God in Paradise for every cubit of the mosque.

[1] *Qur'ān*, LXXII, 18.

[2] This inscription is important as it represents the first regnal year of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh and confirms the date 864 A. H. as the commencing year of his reign. The earliest epigraphs of Bārbak Shāh's independent rule noticed so far ere this are dated 865 A. H.

This mosque was built during the reign of the just Sulṭān Ruknu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn *Abū'l Muẓaffar* Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh Sulṭān

(2) by the great Khān and exalted Khāqān Ulugh Ajlakā (?) Khān, son of Bakhshish Khān, superintendent of the town of Dhākhā, specially for Imām Maulānā, known as Qāḍī, son of Qāḍī Aḥmad, son of Shaikh 'Alāwal on the 1st Jumādī I, year 864 A. H. (23rd February 1460 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

An inscribed stone slab measuring 2′×11″ is fixed on a tomb at Peril, Distt. Dacca in East Bengal, and contains one line mainly written in Arabic prose, executed in *Ṭughrā* style of an intricate type. The record is in good state of preservation and every word of it is clear though difficult in reading. A tradition of the Holy Prophet regarding the erection of mosque occurs in the beginning as usual and the rest of the record mentions the building of a mosque in 869 A.H. (1465 A.D.) by one Majlis Khurshīd during the reign of Bārbak Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān of Bengal. The inscription of Bārbak Shāh from Hatkhola in the District of Sylhet published by Maulavi Shamsud Din Aḥmad[1] is very much similar with the one under notice in many respects such as style, text and calligraphy. Both record the same *Ḥadīth*, the same titles of Bārbak Shāh and Majlis Khurshīd the builder of mosques, executed in *Ṭughrā* characters in relief. The only difference lies in date as the former published ere this bears 868 A. H., while the present one is dated 869 A. H. Another inscription of Khurshīd, dated 850 A. H., assigning the construction of a mosque in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh resembles this in text but differs in calligraphy, being executed in *Thulth* style.[2] The name Ulugh Khurshīd is also recorded in another inscription of the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh of Bengal, indicating the erection of a mosque in 898 A. H.[3] This mosque epigraph also bears a close similarity with the aforesaid ones. Nothing is traceable about Majlis-i-Khurshīd in the historical records. I have made out the text as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

قال النبى عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى الله له قصراً فى الجنة فى زمن الملك
العادل باربک شاه سلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان بنا کرده مجلس خرشید سر نوبت غیر محلیان فی
الخامس شهر شوال سنة تسع و ستين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

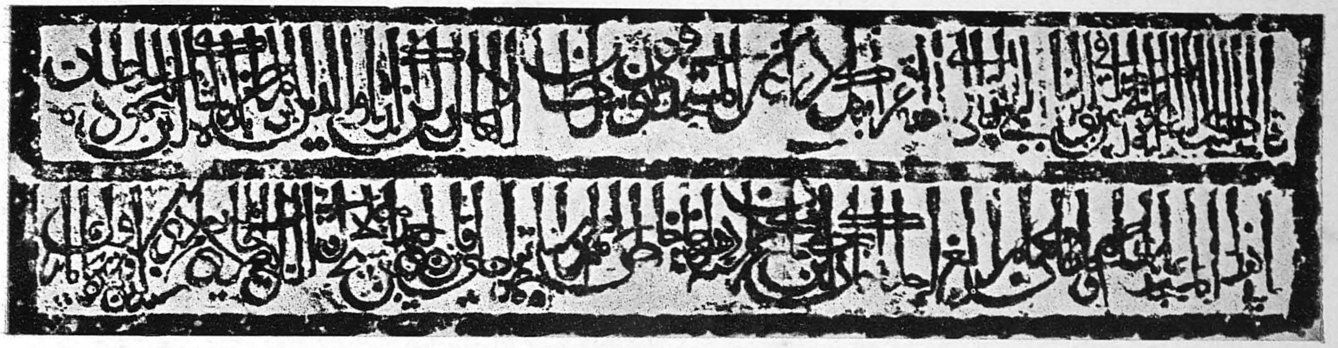
The Prophet, peace be upon him, has said : He who builds a mosque in the world, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise. (The mosque) was constructed in the time of the just Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh by Majlis Khurshīd, chief of the guards of the royal *ḥarem* on the 5th of Shawwāl, 869 (A. H.=31st May, 1465 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

On a mosque at Gurai, District Mymensingh in East Bengal, is a slab (2′9″×1′5″), inscribed in Arabic prose, executed in *Naskhī* characters of a crude type in relief. The inscription consists of three lines comprising a Quranic verse and a tradition of the Holy Prophet in the first line, the

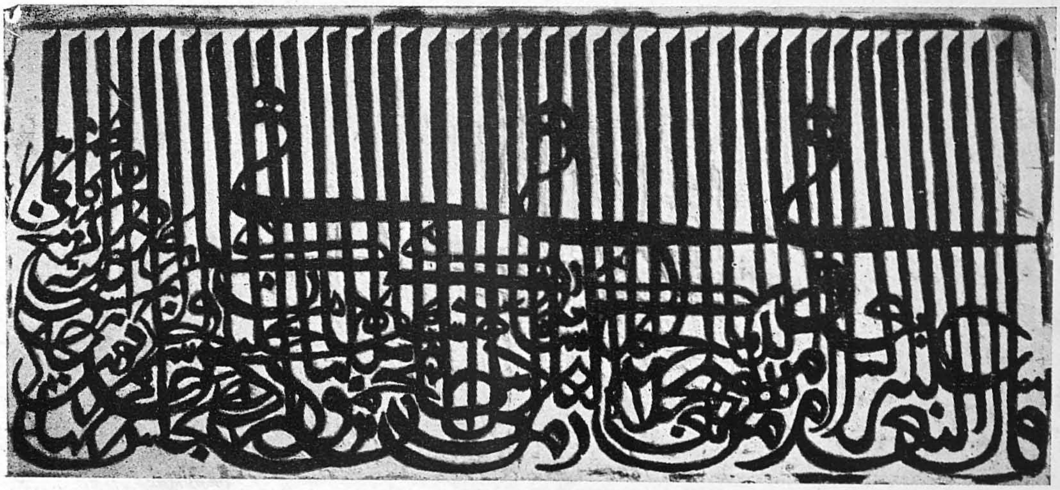
[1] *E. I. M.*, 1935-36, p. 58, plate no. XXXVII (a).
[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 280.
[3] *P. A. S. B.*, 1890, p. 242.

(a) From Bara, Dt. Birbhum



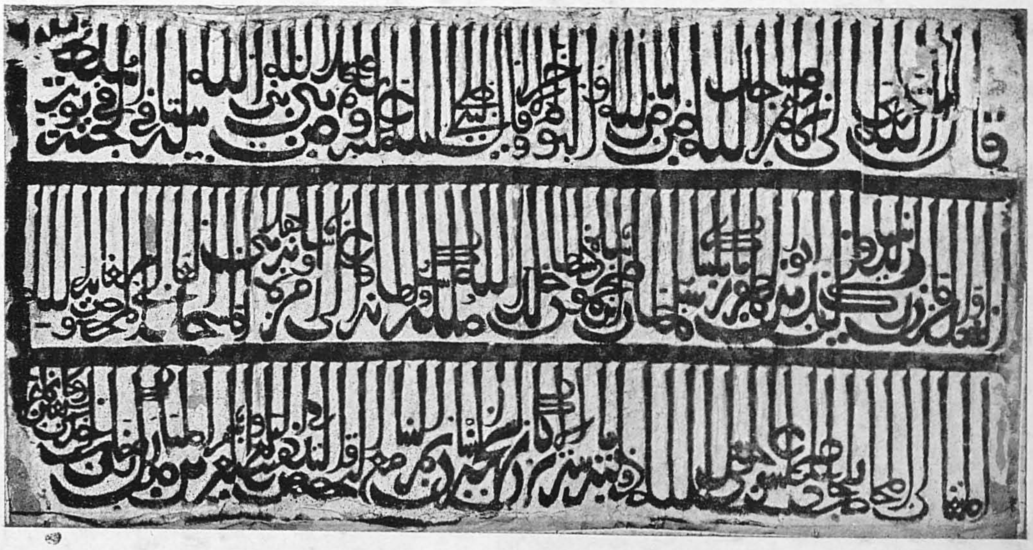
Scale : ·166

(b) On a tomb, Peril, Dt. Dacca



Scale : ·23

(c) On a mosque, Gurai, Dt. Mymensingh



Scale : ·16

last two assigning the erection of a mosque to Khān-i-Majlis 'Ālī during the reign of Bārbak Shāh on 29th of the month of Ramaḍān 871 A. H. (4th May 1467 A. D.). The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (c)

(۱) قال الله تعالے انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن با الله و اليوم الاخر و قال النبی صلی الله عليه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بيتاً فی الجنة فی نوبت سلطان

(۲) العهد و الزمان رکن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر باربکشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه بنی هذا المسجد العالے المخصوص بعناية الله

(۳) المتعالی المخاطب بخطاب مجلس عالی جعل الله دولته ثابتة الارکان راسخة البنيان تم البنا مع التجصيص و التذهيب فی التاسع و العشرين من شهر المبارك رمضان سنه احدی سبعين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh has said : Surely he builds the mosques for God who believes in Allāh and the Last Day. The Prophet, be peace and the blessing of God on him, has said : He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise. During the reign of the King

(2) of the age and time, Ruknu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and elevate his position and status, this lofty mosque was built by one who is chosen for the kindness of God

(3) the Exalted, (and) who is entitled Majlis-i-'Ālī, may God make his governorship firm of pillars and steady in foundation. The building was completed along with plaster and gilding on the 29th of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān year 871 (A. H. = 4th May 1467 A. D.).

QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRA STATE

By Z. A. Desai

I-II.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM KONDAPALLI

These two records were collected by the Government Epigraphist some time back, and were recently transferred to the office of the Asistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions. A summary of their contents was published in the annual reports[1] which also give the summary of the Telugu versions of the epigraphs found on the respective stones.

The first of these is inscribed on a stone which is reported as 'lying by the side of the Malkapuram Road at Kondapalli', near Bezwada in Krishna District. On the same stone is inscribed the Telugu epigraph whose translation will follow. The Persian record mentions the establishment of a *langar* set up in the name of the Prophet Khiḍr and the endowment of two villages viz.,

[1] 153 of 1913 ; 550 of 1925 ; 548 of 1925. The texts of the Telugu epigraphs have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. X, pp. 387, 388-89.

Kāvrūr and Khiḍrābād, and some income for the maintenance of the said *langar*. It comprises twenty lines of Persian prose, preceded by three lines in Arabic. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a crude type and the writing has suffered owing to its exposure to the elements of nature. The language of the epigraph, like the style in which it is executed, is of an inferior order. It may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(١) [لعنة الله على]

(٢) القوم الظالمين - بسم الله الذى [لا مبدأ ؟]

(٣) له و لا منتهى

(۴) المراد آنکه بتاریخ سنه احدى

(٥) ثلثین تسعمایه بندگان حضرت

(٦) مسند عالى ملک قطب الملک

(۷) خلد ظلاله العالى بر کفار فتح

(٨) یافته معاملة کند پلی قابض شده

(٩) موضوع کورور و خضر آباد

(١٠) حوالى بذیل ؟ خرج لنگر

(١١) حضرت خواجه خضر علیه ا(کذا)

(١٢) الصلوة و السلم (*sic.*) و از ولایت لواز

(١٣) مه دیودم و برهم تو

(١۴) رى تعین فرموده

(١٥) و این را از مال و ملک

(١٦) خود جدا کرده و از

(١۷) جهت فقراء باب الله تعین کرده و دها

(١٨) نیده شده است باید که از مسلم و مکفر این قانون

(١٩) تجاوز ننماید و جارى دارد اگر خلاف کنند

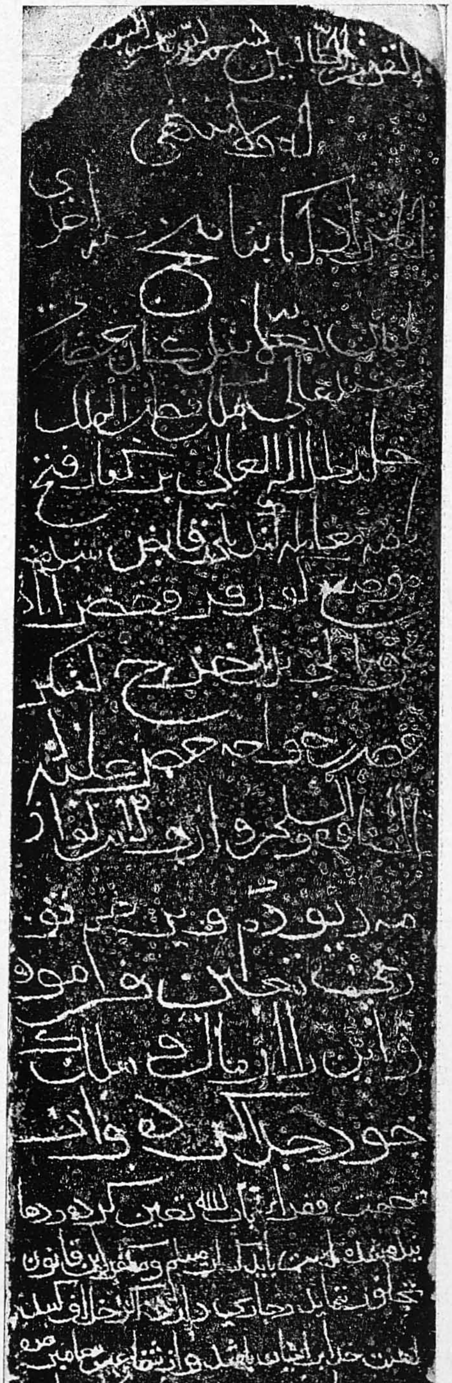
(٢٠) لعنت خدا بر ایشان باشد و از شفاعت پیغامبر صلعم

(٢١) محروم مانند تمام شد لعنت نامهٔ جهت لنگر بخط عهد

(٢٢) الضعیف النحیف على بن میانملک جنیدى

(٢٣) فى صدره

(*a*) Lying by the side of the Malkapuram Rd., Kondapalli



Scale : ·173

(*b*) In the central miḥrāb, Jāmiʿ Mosque, Vinukonda

Scale : ·13

TRANSLATION

(1) [May the curse of God alight upon]

(2) those who deviate ![1] In the name of God who has no beginning

(3) and no end.

(4) The object (of writing this) is that, in the year one

(5) (and) thirty (and) nine hundred (i.e., 931 A. H.=1524-25A.D.), His Highness

(6) Masnad-i-'Ālī Malik Quṭbu'l Mulk,

(7-8) may his lofty shadow remain for ever, having gained victory over the infidels, (and) got possession of the District of Kondapalli

(9-14) endowed the villages of Kavrūr and Khiḍrābād in the vicinity (?) for the maintenance of the *langar* run in the name of the Prophet Khiḍr on whom be peace and blessings of God, and fixed, from the territories, the proceeds of Devdum and Brahmtūrī (?),

(15-19) and has set these apart from his personal estate, and these have been allotted and caused to be handed over for the benefit of the poor, for God's sake. It is necessary that neither the Muslims nor the non-Muslims should deviate from this order, and (they) should continue to (observe) it. If they disobey it,

(20-23) the curse of God will be on them and they will be deprived of (the favour of) the intercession of the Prophet (on their behalf), may God's blessing and salutation be on him. Finished is this curse-proclamation, as given above, issued in favour of the *langar* (and) written by the weak and humble servant, 'Alī, son of Miyān Malik Junaidī.

The translation of the Telugu record is as under[2] :—

" Hail ! Prosperity !

In Śaka 145[2] corresponding to Khara, on the day of Chaitra śu.2, Monday, Masanada-Ēli-Kutumana-Malka-Oḍayaluṅgāru, a friend of Mahammadusāha-Sulutānu, after having conquered by his prowess, Koṇḍapalli and other fortresses, established a *langar* (feeding house) called Kidar-bājāgadi (?) for the poor, the blind, the lame, the destitute and the dervishes, to the south of Koṇḍapalli in the vicinity of Peyyālugalu (?), and granted for the maintenance of the choultry (*dharmma-sattra*) two villages, (namely) Kavurūru and Kidarabad. (*He also granted*) some income inclusive of incomes from Brahman and temple lands from the six *sthalas* under the jurisdiction of Koṇḍapalli. (*May this gift*) be maintained till the sun and moon endure. (Imprecation). This (*inscribed*) order (*is conveyed to*) the *sthala-karaṇam* Gōvindarāju-Gōparāju-Mahāpātra. The inscribed pillar (*is written by*) Śrīvrattana (?)."

The other Persian inscription which is engraved on a stone set up near the Erukula house, consists of seventeen lines of Persian prose preceded by one more in Arabic. It is also executed in *Naskh* of a crude type and the language is also of an inferior order. The inscriptional stone has been badly damaged. It seems to record that Malik Quṭbu'l Mulk had remitted the tax known as *Anddi Santa Sunkam* after he had obtained possession of Kondapalli ; the order was not carried out, whereupon he re-ordered the remission with strict instructions that the tax should be deemed remitted till the day of Resurrection. It was written on 29th Rabī' I 945 A. H. or 1538 A. D. It may be pointed out that the Telugu epigraph on the same stone which was re-set up on

[1] *Qur'ān*, VII, 44.

[2] The translation of this as well as the other Telugu record was supplied to me, on request, by Shri N. Laxmi-arayan Rao, M.A., Government Epigraphist, to whom I am greatly indebted.

Āshāḍha ba. 30, Sōbhakṛit (i.e., Śaka 1464 or 1542 A. D.), refers, in addition, to the extension of the remission to the Panchāṇamavāru (artisans) etc., which is not referred to in the Persian epigraph.

It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

(۱) هو الغنی

(۲) بتاریخ

(۳) ۲۹ ماه ربیع الاول سنه ۹۴۵ تحریر یافت

(۴) که بندگان حضرت خداوند مسند عالی و منصب معالی الغ اکرم

(۵) ملک قطب الملک خلد ایام دولته و زید جلاله به طرف تلنگ جهت اسلام

(۶) برکفره عزم نموده حق سبحانه و تعالی فتح بخشیده معاملة کوند پلی

(۷) قابض شده برای به خواری ؟ ولایته ایندی سیانتم سونکهم

(۸) معاف نموده بودند درمیان آن شتاله داران این قانون ؟ تجاوز

(۹) نمودند برین معنی عطا میان و جید راو منهر نایب تهانه دار

(۱۰) بر صاحب تفویض داشتند صاحب مرحمت فرموده معاف

(۱۱) کردند اکنون تا قیام قیامت معاف دانند اگر این را تجاوز

(۱۲) نمایند مسلمانرا سوگند خدا و مصطفی و مرتضی باشد

(۱۳) و بلعنت خدا گرفتار آید و کافرانرا سوگند گاو را

(۱۴) و بهمن را درمیان ندی کشنا کشته باشند

(۱۵) بخط بندهٔ ضعیف

(۱۶) علی بن سعید ملک ساکن اپرگی

(۱۷) فارسی نویس عطاء مذکور ؟

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Independent.

(2) On the day

(3) 29th (of) Rabīʻ I of the year 945 (A. H. = Sunday, 25th Aug. 1538 A. D.) it was inscribed

(4) that His Highness Masnad-i-ʻĀlī, Manṣab Maʻālī, the great Ulugh

(5-14) Malik Quṭbu'l Mulk, may the days of his government last for ever and may his glory ever increase, led an expedition into Telangana for the sake of Islam. God the Glorified and Most Exalted having granted (him) victory, he took possession of the District of Kondapalli and for the prosperity of the country remitted the (tax known as) *Andisyāntamsūnkham*. In the days that followed the *sthāladārs* deviated from this order which matter was represented to the Master

(*ṣāḥib*) by 'Aṭā Miyān and Jīdarāomanhar,[1] *nāib thānadār*. The Master having shown kindness remitted it. (It is therefore notified that) henceforth they should deem it remitted till the day of Resurrection. If any deviation is made, the oath of God, the Prophet and 'Alī be on the Muslims and he (they) will be subjected to the curse of God ; if they be non-Muslims, they will be considered as having committed the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin in the middle of the river Krishna.

(15) Written by the weak slave

(16) 'Alī, son of Sa'īd Malik, inhabitant of Apargī,

(17) *Fārsīnavīs* to the above mentioned 'Aṭā (?).

The Telugu epigraph has been translated as follows :—

" Lines 1-52. Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year Śaka 14[5]2, corresponding to Vikṛiti, on the day of Vaiśākha ba. 30, Wednesday, when Masanada-Ēli-Kudupana-Malka-Oḍayaluṅgāru took possession of the Koṇḍapalli-rājya in the course of his subjugation of the Hindu kings, on a request being made to him by Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the *sthalakaraṇam* of this (Koṇḍapalli)-*sīma* and the people to remit the tax called *Ānddi-śānta-suṅkam*, he was pleased to remit the tax and order the setting up of a pillar recording it. And when the pillar was (later) damaged and the writing obliterated, Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the *sthalakaraṇam* of Koṇḍapalli and the people of the town and the *sīma* of Koṇḍapalli represented to Attāmiyyaṅgāru and Adirajālāgāru, the *Tāṇēdar* and the *Naib-Tāṇēdar* of Koṇḍapalli respectively that a new inscribed pillar recording the remission of the Ānddi-śānta-suṅkam be set up, the latter despatched a requisition (*aradāsu*) to that effect to Malka Oḍayaluṅgāru, who was pleased to order the remission of the tax and to issue written instructions (*kurachakhattu*) to that effect for the setting up of a new inscribed pillar in the name of the *thaṇēdars* of Koṇḍapalli. (*In pursuance whereof*) in the year Śōbhakṛit, Āshāḍha ba. 30, Sunday, the tax was remitted also on the *Pañchāṇam*-community and this inscribed pillar set up.

Lines 52-70. Imprecatory.

Lines 70-77. This pillar inscription was, on the orders of Kudupana-Malka-Voḍayaluṅgāru and on the strength of the written document (*kurachakhattu*) (*caused to be*) engraved by the *sthalakaraṇam* Gōparāju-Mahāpātra, the son of Vīrakēdāramāni-Gōvindarāju-Mahāpātra.

Lines 77-80. Benedictory *ślōka*."

Great confusion seems to prevail regarding Sulṭān Qulī's conquest and possession of Kondapalli. Mr. Sewell, while commenting upon the earlier epigraph says : It is a question how the Sulṭān had the power to deal with these villages.[2] The account of Sulṭān Qulī's conquests in Telangana as given by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī* or the anonymous historian of the Qutb Shahs as he is popularly called is, despite details, rather too confused chronologically. It may be remembered that from 1513 to 1519-20, Krishnadevaraya was engaged in his campaigns into the Gajapati territories and had not only reconquered the districts south of the river Krishna then in possession of the Gajapati, but also the districts north of it. He had conquered Kondapalli and other places upto Cuttack. The Gajapati who was defeated in every battle and lost almost the whole of his kingdom had to sue for peace. He gave his daughter to Krishnadevaraya in marriage, and obtained in return all the territory to the north of the Krishna which the Raya had taken from him during the war.[3] Now Quṭbu'l Mulk who is generally believed to have assumed sovereignty by this time, was anxious to reconquer the fortresses that had been lost to him and were in possession of the Gajapati. The wars with Krishnadevaraya had left the Gajapati a weaker monarch, while

[1] Probably Adirajáiāgāru of the Telugu version.

[2] Sewell and Aiyangar, *Hist. Insc. of South India*, p. 243.

[3] Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 204-211.

Kṛishnadevaraya was engaged for some time from 1520 onwards on the north-western borders of his kingdom. An inscription from Undavalli dated in 1525-26 A. D., refers to Gajapati Prataparudra's stay on the banks of the river Krishna and his construction of a temple at Mangalgiri.[1] The presence of Prataparudra in this region, not far from the find-spots of inscriptions under notice, suggests that Prataparudra had come to fight Sulṭān Qulī or his forces. This would presuppose the presence of Golconda forces in this region at sometime between 1520 and 1525-26, following which Prataparudra had come down to recover the territories on the Krishna which were occupied by the Golconda forces. In other words, Sulṭān Qulī might have taken possession of Kondapalli in 1524-25 A. D., as suggested by the earlier Persian epigraph. Also Quṭbu'l Mulk might have issued orders for the establishment of the *langar* and endowment of villages but before these could be carried out, Prataparudra might have, if only for a short period, got an upper hand and regained possession of Kondapalli region. However, the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 seems to have changed the situation. Sulṭān Qulī again found an opportunity to realise his ambition and renewed his attacks against the Gajapati dominions in the south and despite the best efforts of the Gajapati officers, Kondapalli was lost to Golconda. This was probably in about March 1531, the date of the first Telugu epigraph.

Now, the other Telugu epigraph which probably refers to the same conquest as the first Telugu one, is dated 1542, while its Persian counterpart bears the date 945 A. H., or 1538 A. D. as the *date of writing*. It may be that the renewal of the remission of taxes which forms the subject of these epigraphs was ordered in 945 A. H., but could only be transferred on the pillar bearing the Telugu version four years later when the new pillar was set up. The extension of the remission to the Panchānamavāru as metioned in the Telugu epigraph may have been ordered out at this later date. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the difference of four years between the dates of these two versions.

An interesting feature of these inscriptions is that they mention Sulṭān Qulī only with the titles, Masnad-i-'Ālī, Manṣab Ma'ālī etc., that were conferred upon him by his Bahmanī sovereign; not a single title suggesting royalty is to be found therein. The evidence of these inscriptions bearing on the controversy as to when, if at all, Quṭbu'l Mulk had proclaimed his sovereignty has not been taken any notice of. It was generally believed that Quṭbu'l Mulk did not declare his independence until 918 A.H. or 1512 A.D., when the imbecility of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī's government was apparent to the whole world and the ascendancy of his ambitious ministers completely established.[2] Dr. Yazdani tried to prove that this date was earlier by six years and that Quṭbu'l Mulk assumed sovereignty in 924 A.H. or 1518 A.D.[3] That Quṭbu'l Mulk had not declared his independence until 924 A.H., cannot be challenged but it yet remains to be conclusively proved that he did so in or after that year; there is no epigraphical evidence to prove that. On the contrary, the available epigraphical evidence points to the contrary. Prof. H. K. Sherwani in a paper read before the seventh session of the Indian History Congress, has tried to show that not one of the great fief-holders declared his independence while the last rightful Bahmanī Sultan was alive.[4] As we have stated, the epigraphical evidence does not at all warrant the declaration of independence by Sulṭān Qulī. The epitaph on Sulṭān Qulī's grave records his name and titles as Malik Sulṭān Qulī entitled Quṭbu'l Mulk known as Bare Malik (the Great Prince)[5] which can hardly be construed to connote regal titles. The epithets

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[1] 47A of 1909. This inscription is dated Ś 1448 Parthiva. The cycle year referred to is expired year and not the current year (vyaya). For this and other references, I am indebted to my friend Dr. R. Subramanyam, Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, in charge of Nagarjunkunda excavations, Guntur.

[2] Brigg's *Firishta*, III, p. 323.

[3] *Journal of the Hyd. Arch. Soc.*, 1918, pp. 89-94; *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1915-16, p. 19.

[4] *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 7th Session, Madras, 1944, pp. 256-262.

[5] *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1915-16, p. 27.

الغازی لوجہ اللہ المجاہد فی سبیل اللہ الملک preceding the name in the same epitaph are not at all exclusive for kings and cannot be used in themselves as connoting royalty. As it is, the epitaph clearly shows that he is not mentioned with any royal title at all. The inscriptions under notice also point to the same fact. As late as 931 A. H. and 945 A. H., Sulṭān Qulī was formally a great nobleman who, though a virtual ruler of Telangana, was only a great noble in charge of the government of that country and not a king in the strict sense of the term.

A few more points may be noted as regards these two records. The later record mentions a few more titles of Quṭbu'l Mulk than the earlier one. Secondly, the later epigraph includes the oath of Murtaḍā (i.e., 'Alī) alongwith that of God and the Prophet, while the earlier one simply proclaims the curse of God and the Prophet. If it is not too much to infer, we may say that the Shiite influence had gathered momentum by 945 A. H., the date of the later record.[1]

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, VINUKONDA

Vinukonda, situated in 16°3'N and 79°44'E, is the headquarters of the *taluk* of the same name in Guntur District and is approached by rail. It lies close under the hill after which it is named. With Bellaṃkonda and Kondavidu, Vinukonda seems to have formed a triangle of fortresses which were the scenes of severe fighting in the 16th century.[2] Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara captured this fort in 1515 A. D., before he stormed Kondavidu. Two records from Perur near Gudivada of 1515 and 1520, mention that Nadendla Appana, son of Timmayya and nephew of Saluva Timma, the king's minister, was made governor of Vinukonda, Gutti and Amravati by that king.[3] In a record dated 1562 it is stated that Vinukonda province (*sīma*) was given to Kondaraja by Rama Raja Tirumal.[4] It finally passed into the hands of the Golconda Sultans in about 1580 A.D., when 'Imādu'd Dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī, entitled Ḥaidaru'l Mulk, reduced this fort along with those of Kacherlakota and Cumbum, and left garrison there before marching against Kondavidu.[5] This fort was regarded as of much importance even after the English took Masulipatam.[6]

The Jāmi' Mosque at Vinukonda is in good state of preservation and is similar in its construction to mosques of this period in this part of the country. It was constructed in the year 1050 A. H. (1640-41 A. D.) by 'Alī Raḍā Khān, entitled 'Ainu'l Mulk, who was deputed by the king to suppress the menace of robbers on the highways to sea-ports. Into the middle of the five archs that constitute its half-pentagonic central *miḥrāb*, there is fitted a full arch-shaped slab bearing the following inscription.[7] It measures from apex to bottom 4'6½" and is 2'2" wide. Above the arch are fixed three separate panels in a horizontal row which have been termed in this article as the upper part of the inscription. Of these panels, those on sides are surrounded by an arched circle and contain the words Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī written round and round four times so as to present a floral and geometrical decoration, while the central one is surrounded by a multifoil arch and contains a well-known verse from the Quran. The piece, if considered separate from the inscription on the arch (or say lower part of the inscription), measures 2' by 9".

The lower epigraph is surrounded by two arch-shaped lines running parallel, the inner one fixing the limits of the flourishes of the letters. There is another boundary line round another small arch inside, forming with the above line the margin of the inscription in the shape of an arch : it contains the Shiite *durūd*. The smaller arch is divided into three panels, one upon another

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[1] History speaks of Quṭbu'l Mulk as a staunch Shī'a.
[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial series, Madras, vol. I, p. 339.
[3] Sewell and Aiyangar, *opp. cit.*, p. 240.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[5] Brigg, *opp. cit.*, III, p. 436. Also see *Government Epigraphist's Reports*, 1909-10, Madras, pp. 119-20.
[6] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, *opp. cit.*,
[7] 531 of 1913.

containing the *Āyatu'l Kursī*, the *Nād-i-'Alī* and the date of construction. The bottom panel is divided from the second one by a broken straight line formed by the horizontal strokes of the letter ے .

The whole of the epigraph is inscribed in relief in Thulth characters in *Ṭughrā* style with the exception of the three Persian lines in the bottom panel which are written in *Nasta'līq*.

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

Upper piece.

(*a*) on sides الله ' محمد ' على (four times).

(*b*) centre نصر من الله و فتح قريب.

Lower piece.

(*a*) inside the inner *miḥrāb*, top panel

(۱) الله محمد على بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تاخذه سنة

(۳) و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض من ذى الذى

(۴) يشفع عنده الا باذنه و (*sic.*) يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم

(۵) و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه

(۶) السموات و الارض و لا يوده خفهما (*sic.*) و هو العلى [ا]العظيم

(*b*) middle panel

(۱) ناد عليا مظهر [ا]العجايب تجده عونلك فنوايب (*sic.*)

(۲) كل هــم و غم سينجــلى بوىلات(*sic.*) يا على يا على يا على

(*c*) bottom panel

(۱) در زمان شاه جم جاه سلطان عبد الله قطب شاه خلد الله ملكه بنده

(۲) على رضا خان عين الملك بدزدان راه بنادر و مهم بابكت بضبط در آورده از

(۳) براى رواج دين بناى مسجد نمود كه ز هجرت هزار و پنجاه سال بود

(*d*) in the margin

اللهم صل على المصطفے محمد و المرتضى على و البتول فاطمه (و) السبطين الحسن (و)
الحسين و صل على زين العباد على و الباقر محمد و الصادق جعفر (و) الكاظم موسى و الرضا على
و التقى محمد و النقى على و الزكى العسكرى [ا]لحسن

و صل الله على الحجة القايم الخلف الصالح الامام [ا]لهمام المنتظر المظفر و المرضى محمد
ابن [ا]لحسن صاحب الزمان و قاطع البرهان و خليفه الرحمن و مظهر الايمان سيد الانس و [ا]لجان
صلوة الله و سلامه عليه [و] عليهم اجمعين

TRANSLATION

Upper piece.

(*a*) God, Muḥammad, 'Alī (four times).

(*b*) Help is from God and victory near.

Lower piece.

(*a*) God, Muḥammad, 'Ali. In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. *Āyatu'l Kursī.*[1]

(*b*) *Nād-i-'Alī.*

(*c*) (1) During the reign of a Jamshīd in dignity, Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh, may God perpetuate his kingdom, the slave,

(2) 'Alī Raḍā Khān 'Ainu'l Mulk, having brought to book the robbers on the highways to sea-ports and (having managed) the expedition of Tāngeta (?),

(3) erected a mosque for the promulgation of Faith when it was one thousand and fifty of the Hijra year (i.e., 1050 A.H.=1640-41 A.D.).

(*d*) Shiite *durūd.*

The epigraph, which is remarkable for its beautiful execution and style suffers, however, from the calligraphical mistakes that have crept in. The *Nād-i-'Alī*, for example, is carelessly written as far as its orthography is concerned ; thus we have فنوایب instead of فی النوایب or عونلک instead of عونالک . In many places the words have lost their واو or الف . These mistakes can only be ascribed either to the ignorance of the engraver, who appears to have been less conversant with Arabic or to the complicated arrangement of the text prepared by the scribe, whose writing the engraver copied out *in extenso* on the stone.

Apart from the palæographic value of the epigraph, its Persian portion is important from historical point of view and speaks of the menace of robbers waylaying the traffic on the roads to ports. Telangana had been in those days notorious for its robbers whose ' dexterity and boldness ' are particularly taken note of by the anonymous author of the *Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī*, but Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's excellent police administration suppressed the menace and restored complete peace and security.[2] However, the same state of security does not seem to have lasted longer and here, in the present inscription, we have evidence showing that the menace of robbers affecting the trade and traffic to ports had already existed in the days of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh.

As regards 'Alī Raḍā Khān of the inscription, we do not possess any information. The sources for the history of the Qutb Shahi rulers are not many and whatever there be, are in manuscripts and hence not easily accessible. But it would not be too much to assume that 'Alī Raḍā Khān must have been one of the important personages of the kingdom as his title 'Ainu'l Mulk suggests. Likewise, the name of the town or district whose campaign has been referred to is not clear, since in the inscription the word is inscribed without proper diacritical marks. Though it reads like بابکت , it is not unlikely that the correct name may be تانگت which reading can be easily obtained by transposition of the dots. Can it be Tangeda, a fort with dependencies mentioned alongwith Vinukonda, the findspot of the inscription under notice, in connection with the reduction of several forts by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's forces in about 1580 ?[3]

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[1] *Qur'ān*, II, 255.

[2] Brigg, *opp. cit.*, p. 446.

[3] Sewell and Aiyangar, *opp. cit.*, p. 262.

IV.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE AT CUMBUM

Cumbum town in Kurnool District, situated in 15°35′N and 79°6′E, was considered an important place in medieval period. In 1579 or 1580 A.D., Ḥaidaru'l Mulk, a general of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, after reducing the forts of Vinukonda and Kacharlakota, took Cumbum and left a garrison there.[1] Since then, it formed a part of Golconda territories and on the final overthrow of that empire, passed on to the Mughuls. Later on, 'Abdu'n Nabī Khān Miyāna was made *faujdār* of Kudpa district which, with the growing weakness of the Mughul authority, became a semi-independent state tributary to Hyderabad like Kurnool and Savnur.[2] During the rule of his greatgrandson 'Abdu'l Ḥalīm Khān, Ḥaidar 'Alī of Mysore overran this country and after capturing the former, bestowed it including Cumbum on his brother-in-law Mīr 'Alī Raḍā Khān.[3] The latter was succeeded by his son Mīr Qamaru'd Dīn Khān in 1780-81 A.D. The Niẓām of Hyderabad acquired this and other districts from Mysore by virtue of the Treaties of 1792 and 1799 which closed the second and the third Mysore Wars and finally ceded them in 1800 to the British.

The Jāmi' mosque at Cumbum, situated near the main bazar of the town, bears two Persian inscriptions, both being almost identical in their text with the only difference that the one which is incised on the stone contains some more titles of the king and the minister which are omitted in the other. One of them is incised on a slab of black basalt which is built into the southern wall near the base of the minaret. The epigraph contains two versions of the same record, one in prose and the other in poetry. It records the erection of the mosque by one Sayyid Ḥusain, the *ḥavāladār* of Cumbum, during the reign of Sulṭān 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh when Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd[4] was the *Mīr Jumla* of the empire. We do not possess any information regarding Sayyid Ḥusain the builder, who is spoken of in the epigraph as originally belonging to Māzandarān.

The inscriptional tablet measures 1′11″ by 1′. The language is Persian and is executed in *Naskh* of a fair type. The inscription has suffered a good deal from effects of weather and passage of time, and the letters have become slightly indistinct.

It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(۱) در عهد بادشاه فلک قدر قطب شاه

(۲) گاسمش ز التفات حق عبد الله آمده

(۳) از یمن لطف میر محمد سعید آنکه

(۴) پشت و پناه خلق و مرید شه آمده

(۵) سید حسین کرد بنا مسجدی ز صدق

(۶) کز وصف آن زبان خرد کوته آمده

---

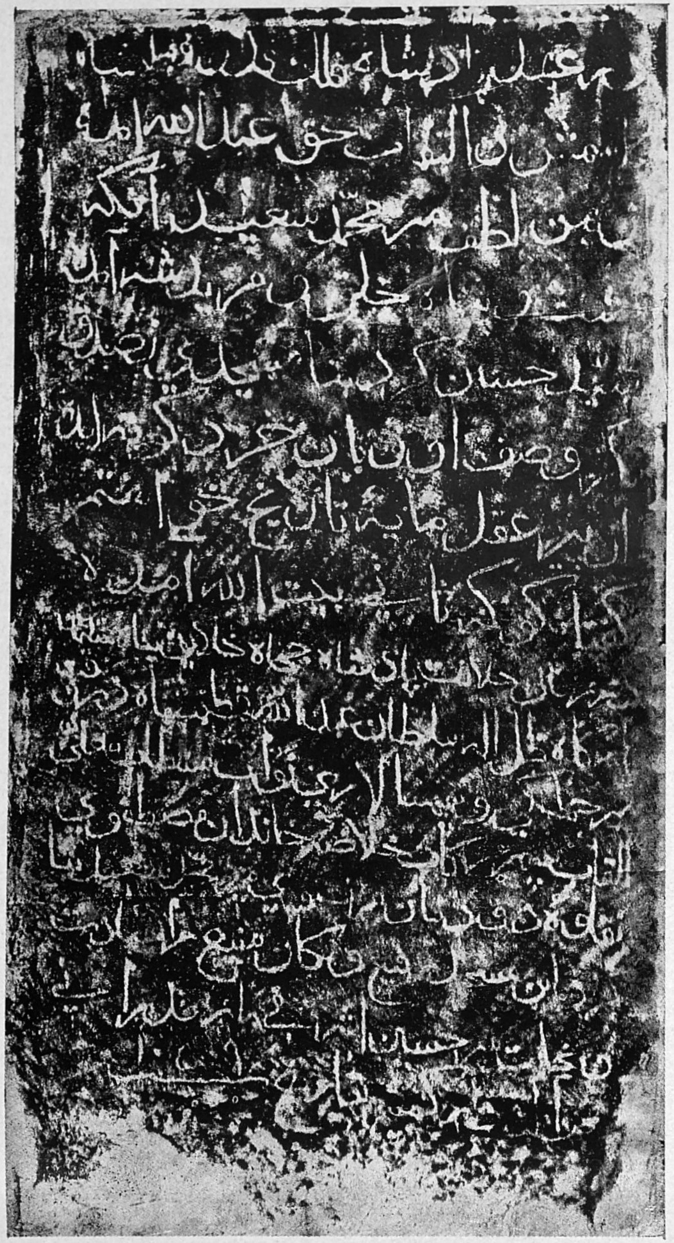
[1] Brigg. *opp. cit.*, p. 436 ; Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 273 ; Sewell and Aiyangar, *opp. cit.*, pp. 262, 266.

[2] *Ma'āthiru'l Umarā*, II, p. 58.

[3] *Nishān-i-Ḥaidarī* tr. by W. Miles under the title *The History of Hydur Naik*, pp. 351-365 ; *Ma'āthiru'l Umarā*, II, p. 59.

[4] For Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd, see *E. I. M.*, 1937-38, p. 52 ; *Ma'āthiru'l Umarā*, III, pp. 530-55.

(*a*) Near the base of the southern minaret, Jāmi‘ Mosque, Cumbum



Scale : ·28

(*b*) Near the base of the northern minaret, same place

Scale : .3

(۷) از پیر عقل مایۀ تاریخ خواستم

(۸) گفتا بگو که ثانی بیت الله آمده

---

(۹) در زمان خلافت پادشاه جمجاه خلایق پناه سلیمان

(۱۰) بارگاه ظل اله سلطان عبد الله قطب شاه در وقت

(۱۱) میر جملگی و سپهسالاری نواب مستطاب معلی

(۱۲) القاب سپهر رکاب خلاصۀ خاندان مصطفوی

(۱۳) نقاوه دودمان مرتضوی میر محمد سعید بنا

(۱۴) کرد این مسجد رفیع و مکان منیع را سیادت [پناه]

(۱۵) و نجابت [دستگاه] میر حسین اشرفی مازندرانی

(۱۶) حواله دار کمم بتاریخ سنه ۱۰۵۹

TRANSLATION

(1-2) During the reign of the king of heaven-like dignity, Quṭb Shāh whose name, through the kindness of God, is ‘Abdu’llāh,

(3-4) through the blessings of the kindness of Mīr Muḥammad Sa‘īd, who has been the mainstay of the people and a devoted servant of the king,

(5-6) Sayyid Ḥusain, out of truthfulness (of intention) constructed a mosque, of whose description, (even) the tongue of Wisdom has fallen short.

(7-8) I sought the chronogram from the old Man of Reason; he replied, ‘Say: (it is) *second to the House of God*’.

---

(9) During the reign of the caliphate of the King, Jamshīd in dignity, shelter of people, (having) Solomon-like

(10) audience-hall, Shadow of God, Sulṭān ‘Abdu’llāh Quṭb Shāh (and) during the period of

(11) *Mīr Jumla-ship* and army-command of the gracious Nawwāb of lofty

(12) titles, whose stirrup is sphere, the cream of the family of the Prophet,

(13) the best of the house of ‘Alī, Mīr Muḥammad Sa‘īd,

(14-16) Mīr Ḥusain Ashrafī Māzandarānī, the Sayyid, the Noble, the *ḥavāladār* of Kamam erected this lofty mosque and precious house in the year 1059 (A.H.=1649 A.D.).

The date given in figures at the end of the epigraph in prose, is afforded by the chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the last verse (l. 8) viz., *second to the House of God.*

The other slab, measuring 1′ 3″ by 1′, is built into the northern wall just opposite to the above one and contains the above epigraph with minor differences as already observed. The style of writing of the poetical portion here is *Nasta‘līq* while that of the prose is *Naskh* of a fair type. Both of them are inscribed in *basso-relievo*. Since the epigraph is more or less a reproduction of the previous one, it is not found necessary to give its text (see Plate X b).

SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALPI AND JATARA

By Y. K. Bukhari

Estampages of the four out of six epigraphs included in this article were collected by Maulavi Ashraf Husain, the ex-Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions about two years back, of which two are from Kalpi, District Jalaun (U. P.) and two from Jatara in Vindhya Pradesh. Impressions of the remaining two inscriptions from Kalpi (nos. 3 and 4) were taken long ago by Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib of the Department of Archaeology and preserved in our office.

These inscriptions are dated A.H. 839, 853, 906, 935, 961 and 961, and represent the periods of Sayyids, Lodīs, Mughuls and Sūrs. Of them, five are in *Naskh* style of an ordinary type and the remaining one is executed in *Thulth* characters in relief. Out of the six inscriptions, one is bilingual written in Persian and Sanskrit. Thus dating from A.H. 839 to A.H. 961 (A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1554), they cover a period of nearly one hundred and twenty years which may be treated as a transitional age in the domain of calligraphy. *Naskh* paved the way for *Nasta'līq* which developed in the Mughul period and reached its zenith in the reign of Shāh Jahān (1627-1657). The script of these epigraphs may help one to mark the gradual development in the art of writing.

I have arranged the inscriptions in chronological order but place-wise. The first two epigraphs from Kalpi indicate the erection of two domed tombs of Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ and Bābū Ḥājī Ṣamad respectively. Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ, the occupant of the first tomb was a great saint of his age. He was a disciple and *khalīfa* of Haḍrat Banda Nawāz Gaisū Darāz of Gulbarga. About the next occupant unfortunately nothing is known so far. The third and fourth inscriptions are identical and record the construction of a Jāmi' Mosque during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil of the Sūr dynasty by Mubārak Khān, son of Iqbāl Khān. The last two stone-records, from Jatara, assign the construction of two step-wells during the governorships of Ismā'īl Khān, son of Niẓām Khān and Tātār Khān, a favourite of Sikandar Shāh Lodī respectively.

Kalpi

The town of Kalpi lies in latitude 26°8'N and longitude 79°45' E on the banks of the Jamuna river, 22 miles far from the district headquarters. It was a great centre of trade and business chiefly for cotton and *ghi* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a prominent place of historical significance. The foundation of the town was laid down, as Firishta thinks, by Basdeo or Vasudeva, the ruler of Qannauj and the contemporary of the Sassanian king Bahrām Gor in Persia[1] but another view assigns its foundation to a *Dev*, known as Kālib Deva.[2] Rāja Bīrbal, one of the illustrious nine gems of the court of Emperor Akbar was born at Kalpi. Also the holy saint Shaikh Burhān is known to have resided there. It is said that the fort of the town was one of the eight great forts of the Chandela Rajputs. It formed part of the kingdoms of the Delhi Sulṭāns, Hoshang Shāh of Mālwa, the Jaunpur chiefs, Bābur and Humāyūn. The earliest reference to the town is found in historical records in connection with its capture by Quṭbu'd Dīn Aibak in 593 A.H. (1196 A.D.).

The cultural and archaeological background of the town is also noteworthy. It was the capital of a *sarkār* and had a mint for copper coinage. The ancient relics and monuments are

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* quoted in the *Gazetteer* and *Tawārīkh-i-Kālpī*.

[2] *Tawārīkh-i-Kālpī* by Shaikh Khudā Bakhsh (manuscript preserved in the library of the Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra).

still traceable there. Affording a clear evidence of the antiquity of the town, they shed light on the art and architecture of that period and form the bulwark of the cultural side of the town.[1]

I.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE TOMB OF SHĀH ABŪ'L FATḤ IN MAḤALLA HARĪ GANJ

The tomb is square in plan with a low doorway in each of its sides. These doorways are all arched except the one on the south, over which at a height of 5′ 3″ from the ground is a Persian inscription in verse assigning the commencement of the tomb of Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ, a famous saint of Kalpi and a *khalīfa* of Shāh Gaisū Darāz of Gulbarga (whose another *khalīfa* Bhola Sālār lies buried to the east of the Station Road near Sirhi Darwāza). The aforesaid tomb is built of stones and bricks in lime and mortar covered over with lime plaster. The dome is bulbous. It is carved on an octagonal drum and crowned by a crested finial. The tomb is in good repair.

The inscription is divided into three panels, the upper portion being a triangle in shape bearing the words ' هو الباق ' ' قطعه ' (He is Ever-living, Segment), while the lower panels are squares of equal size containing the first hemistiches of verses on the right hand side and the second ones on the left hand. The construction of the tomb was commenced in Sha'bān 853 A.H. (September 1449 A.D.) and completed after seven months in Ṣafar 854 A.H. (March 1450 A.D.). The inscription slab is 1′7½″×1′5″, executed in *Naskhī* characters in relief.

The occupant of the tomb, mentioned in the inscription, was Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ 'Alā'ī Quraishī, a celebrated saint of the 15th century as mentioned above. Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ was well versed in worldly sciences and possessed spiritual faculties as well. He also visited Mecca and Madina and was called زایر الحرمین (the visitor of the two *harems*), thereafter. He was the author of a great number of books, *'Awārifu'l Ma'ārif* being one of the best among the lot. He had also written twenty other books on mysticism.[2] According to *Khazīnatu'l Aṣfiyā* he died in 862 A.H., and lies buried at Kalpi. The chronogram of his death is given in the book in the following verses :—

چون رفت از عالم فانی بجنت   شه اهل یقین هادی ابو الفتح

چو سال انتقالش جستم از دل   بگفتا میر دیں هادی ابو الفتح

This date is in contravention of the epigraphical evidence which gives 853 A. H. as the date of the foundation of his tomb. In all probability, the tomb might have been built during the life-time of the saint (as was the practice in those days) who, on his death, was interred therein. The inscription does not record the date of his death but only assigns the commencement and completion of the tomb. The text is cited below :—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

هو البـــاق

قطعـــــه

(۱) گنبـــد شیـــخ زایر الحرمین   شیخ ابو الفتح قطب اهل زمان

(۲) در بلندے شدست رشک فلک   در لطافت شدست رشک جنان

[1] For a detailed history of and information about Kalpi, please see (*a*) *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, vol. XXV, Jalaun, pp. 159-163, (*b*) *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XXI, pp. 131-133, and (*c*) A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 112, 113.

[2] *Khazīnatu'l Aṣfiyā*, p. 379.

(۳) بود بنیـــاد وے بهیصد و سه   [بع]د پنجـــاه در مه شعبـــان

(۴) شد ازان پس بهفت ماه تمام   در صفـــر از عنـــایت یزدان

TRANSLATION

He is the Ever-living

Segment

(1) The tomb of the Shaikh, the visitor of the two ḥarams, Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ, the Quṭb (or the pole star) of the people of the world

(2) is an object of envy for the sphere on account of its loftiness, and emulated by Paradise on account of its elegance.

(3) Its foundation took place in the month of Sha'bān 803 after adding 50 (to it) (i.e., 853 A.H.=September 1449 A.D.).

(4) After that it was completed by the grace of God in seven months in the month of Ṣafar (of the following year).

II.—FROM THE TOMB OF SHAIKH ḤĀJĪ ṢAMAD, ADALSARĀI MAḤALLA

Near the *Thatheron kā Kuān* is a domed structure, square in plan, provided with a doorway on each of its four sides. It is made of bricks in lime covered over with lime plaster. The drum of the dome is octagonal. There are ominous cracks in all the four arched entrances and if not immediately repaired, the tomb is in imminent danger of collapse without notice any moment. There being so few monuments assignable to Bābur's period, the tomb amply deserves protection.

Over the east entrance of the tomb is an epigraph in Persian prose consisting of five lines, each line having been inscribed in a horizontal panel. It mentions the name of the occupant of the tomb as Shaikh Bābū Ḥājī Ṣamad and assigns the construction during the governorship of Sulṭān 'Ālam Lodī in the reign of the Mughul Emperor Bābur on the 15th of Rajab 935 A.H. (25th March 1529 A.D.). The style of writing is *Naskh* of an inartistic nature, carved in embossed letters. The inscription slab measures $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(۱) این گنبد شیخ بابو حاجی صمد د[د]

(۲) عهد بابر بادشاه مغل

(۳) عمل سلطان عالم لودی

(۴) بتاریخ پانژدهم ماه رجب

(۵) سنه خمسثلثین و تسعمایه مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

(1) This tomb of Shaikh Bābū Ḥājī Ṣamad

(2) during the reign of the Mughul King Bābur,

(3) (and during) the governorship of Sulṭān 'Ālam Lodī

(4) on the 15th of the month of Rajab

(5) year 935 (A.H.=25th March 1529 A.D.) was constructed.

III-IV.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE DEORHI MOSQUE IN THE UDHAMPURA MAḤALLA

The mosque is built of mortar and brick ; it measures about 30′ by 15′, consists of 3 bays and is surmounted by 3 domes. Of the two inscriptions noticed here, one (plate XI b) is fixed on the right corner of the central arch and comprises six lines, while the other (plate XI c), fixed over the entrance of the mosque, contains seven lines of record and in addition a few words on the left border. Both are carved on the slabs of red sandstone, executed in *Naskh* characters of an indifferent type in relief. They are in Persian prose and identical in their text (excepting two words) which runs to the effect that the mosque was constructed on Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhu'l Ḥajjah 961 A.H. (4th November 1554 A.D.) during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil of the Sūr dynasty by Mubārak Khān, (son of) Iqbāl Khān.

The word جامع occurring near the end of the third line under the words این مسجد in the former inscription (plate XI b) is absent in the other inscription (plate XI c). This word should properly be read after the word مسجد and thus it reads as این مسجد جامع (this Jāmi' mosque). It appears that the mosque referred to in the epigraphs is not an ordinary type but a congregational one as clarified by the word جامع in the former inscription. Moreover, since the word جامع is carved beneath the words این مسجد and is absent in the other, one may draw the conclusion that the word in question might have been left out through oversight by the engraver in both of the epigraphs at first, but later on it was carved in the former inscription under the words این مسجد as there was no space for its insertion in the proper line between the aforesaid words.

The next point which is to be noted here is one day's difference in the date, the day recorded (viz., Sunday) being the same. The former inscription mentions the date as Sunday, the 7th of the month of Dhū'l Ḥajjah, while in the other the date is recorded as Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhū'l Ḥajjah. Thus the difference of one day lies in the epigraphs, but on scrutiny the date in the second inscription is found correct and exact because the day یکشنبه (Sunday) was the 8th and not the 7th of the month of Dhū'l Ḥajjah 961 A.H. (vide von Eduard Mahler, *vergleichungs-Tabellen*, p. 25).

The second inscription ends in the word هرکه and runs on to the left border but the words do not admit of decipherment as they are completely peeled off. I think with all probability that since both the inscriptions are identical, the abraded words in the border must be بخواند به فاتحه یاد ارد . They may be read as follows :—

TEXT

(*a*) *Plate XI* (*b*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۳) در عهد سلطان محمد عادل این مسجد جامع بنا کرد

(۴) مبارکخان اقبالخان سروانی پرجخیل فرمایش خواجه

(۵) محمد خواجه محمود ابتدا ماه ذو الحجه بتاریخ هفتم روز یکشنبه

(۶) سنه احدی ستین و تسعمایه هر که بخواند [به] فاتحه یاد آرد

(b) *Plate XI* (c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۳) در عهد سلطان محمد عادل

(۴) این مسجد بنا کرد مبارکخان اقبالخان

(۵) سروانی پرجخیل فرمایش خواجه محمد

(۶) خواجه محمود ابتدا ماه ذو الحجه تاریخ

(۷) هشتم روز یکشنبه سنه احدی ستین تسعمایه هر که

On the left border.

[بخواند به فاتحه یاد آرد]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) There is no god but God ; Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.

(3) In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, this Jāmi' mosque was constructed by

(4) Mubārak Khān, (son of) Iqbāl Khān, Shirwānī (of) Paraj Khail (tribe) at the instance of Khwāja

(5) Muḥammad, (son of) Khwāja Maḥmūd, dated Sunday, the 8th of the month of Dhū'l ajjah

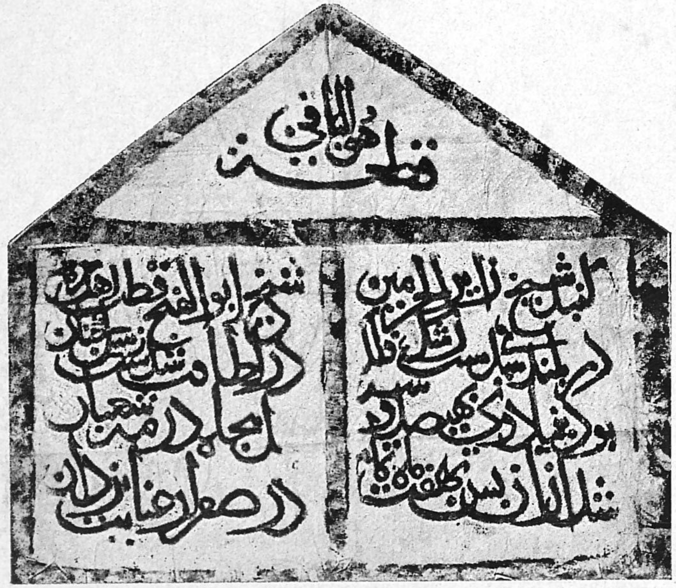
(6) (in) the year nine hundred and sixty-one (4th November 1554 A.D.). Whoever reads (this) should recite the *fātiḥa* (Opening chapter of the Quran).

As may be easily seen, the language of the records and their styles of writing are of an ordinary type, being most probably the work of a local scribe. These are two of the few known records indicating the name of Muḥammad 'Ādil Sūr, better known in history as 'Adlī or Andhlī as the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states.[1] His original name was Mubāriz Khān. He was a cousin of Islām Shāh who had married his sister. When Islām Shāh died, Mubāriz Khān ascended the throne after putting to death Fīrūz, his own nephew, and assumed the title of Muḥammad 'Ādil. From an account given in the *Ṭabaqāt*, it appears that Islām Shāh had no faith in him. He used to tell his wife, Bībī Bā'ī by name, that if she loved her son Fīrūz Khān, she should allow him to kill her brother Mubāriz Khān, who was a hindrance in the path of her son, and if she loved her brother, she should wash her hands off the life of her son, for he was afraid, he said, that Fīrūz stood in constant danger from his uncle. The wife did not agree saying that her brother did not cherish any desire for kingship, being given to merriment and pursuit of music.[2]

[1] Nawal Kishore Ed., pp. 238, 239.

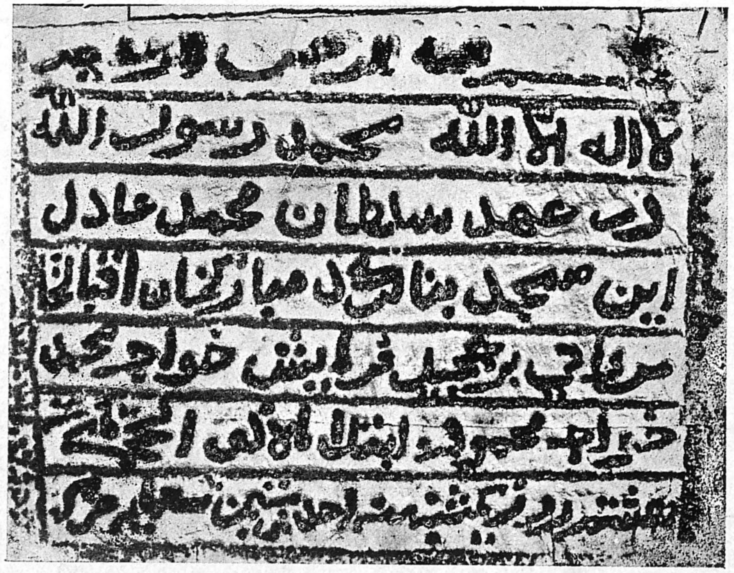
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 118. Ḥājjī Dabīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, gives more or less the same story which he had heard from Miyān 'Abdu'r Razzāq who was in the prime of his youth during the reign of Sher Shāh and who had come to Gujarat in the reign of Islām Shāh (*Ẓafaru'l Wālih*, II, p. 1104).

(*a*) From the tomb of Shāh Abū'l Fatḥ, Maḥalla Hariganj, Kalpi



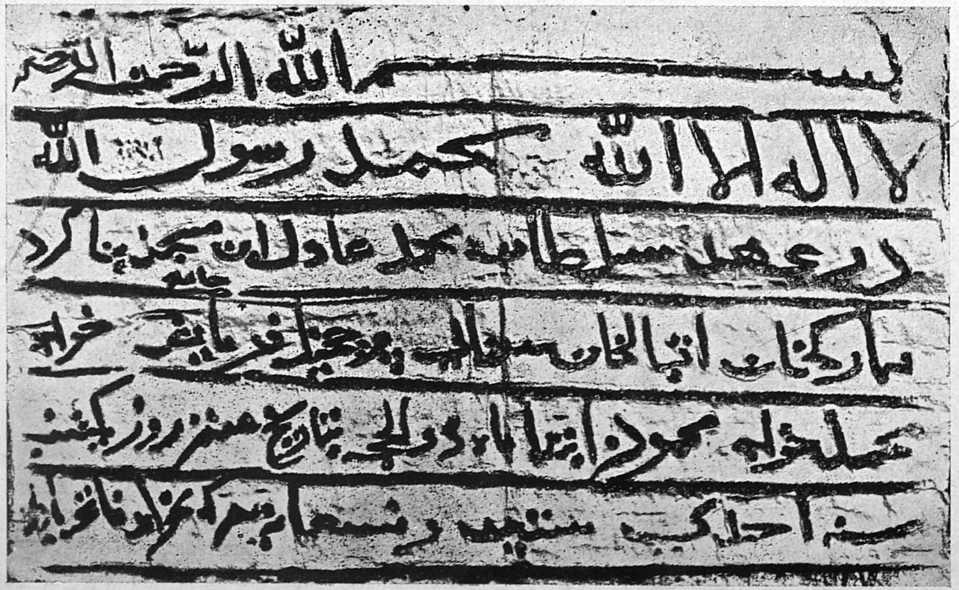
Scale : ·17

(*c*) On the right corner of the central miḥrāb, Deorhi Mosque, Kalpi



Scale : ·33

(*b*) Over the entrance of the same mosque, Kalpi



Scale : ·25

As regards Mubārak Khān, he may be identical with the official under that name, who along-with Bahādur Khān, was despatched at the head of artillery forces to Panipat by Hīmū when Akbar proceeded against the latter.[1] We have no information regarding Khwāja Muḥammad at whose instance the mosque was constructed.

Jatara

Jatara or Jathra[2] is a place of considerable historical interest. It lies in 25°1′ N and 79°6′ E, situated below the level of a lake in the Tikamgarh District of Vindhya Pradesh. Jatara is rich in respect of ancient and mediæval monuments of architectural devices. Some of them bear inscriptions in Persian belonging to the style of the later Mughuls. Abū'l Faḍl mentions the town as the head-quarters of a *maḥal* in the Irich *sarkār* of the *ṣubah* of Agra. It is said that Islām Shāh of the Sūr dynasty named it as Islāmābād after his own name but 'on the defeat of Salīm Shāh Sūrī, Bharti Chand restored the old name of Jatara to the town'.[3]

The monuments and epigraphs at Jatara may be of considerable help to a student of Indian architecture and history. One can study the specimens of ancient architecture, its gradual development, fusion of Hindu and Islamic styles and the characteristics of the Mughul buildings. But most of the monuments excepting a few, are in dilapidated condition.

The village contains a number of buildings, tombs and step-wells, one of which known as *Laulāngar kī Bāolī* bears an inscription in Persian included in this paper.

V.—INSCRIPTION FROM LAULĀNGAR KĪ BĀOLĪ

The *bāolī* is rectangular, 93′×28′×13′, situated at a distance of half a mile from the village. There is a circular well behind it with a diameter of 26′ 5″. There is a roofed passage between the well and the *bāolī*, bearing two inscriptions on each side of the passage. One of them, on the right hand side, is in Persian, while the other one on the left hand side is in Sanskrit.

The Persian epigraph consists of nine lines, one in verse and the rest in prose, executed in *Thulth* characters of an ordinary type in raised letters. It assigns the construction of the *bā'īn* (step-well) to one Bholā Mahrāj, a liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatara, during the governorship of Ismā'īl Khān, son of Niẓām Khān, on Thursday, the 6th of the month of Sha'bān 839 A.H. (24th February 1436 A.D.). The text is cited below :—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

(۱) یا فتـــاح

(۲) باتمام رسید بناء بائین و بانی بناء مذکور

(۳) بهولا مهراج خمار ساکن قصبه جتهره در

(۴) عهد دولت خا[ن] اعظم و خاقان معظم

(۵) شمس الدنیا و الدین اسماعیل خان بن

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[1] N. B. Roy, *The Successors of Sher Shah*, p. 82.

[2] Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, II, p. 188.

[3] This is unhistorical, being only a legend recited in the verses in *Brij Bhāshā*. (For the text of the story, see *Central India State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States*, vol. VIA, Bundelkhand, p. 75).

(٦) نظام خان ا[د]ام الله ظلال جلاله

(٧) ملکے چنین مقرر عہدی چنین مطاع دیرست تا زمانه نداده از کسے نشان

(٨) روز پنجشنبه ششم ماه شعبان سنه تسع و ثلثین و ثمانه مایه

(٩) .... بهولاء مهراج

TRANSLATION

(1) O Opener!

(2) The foundation of the stepped-well reached its completion, and the founder of the said fabric (is)

(3) Bholā Mahrāj, the liquor-seller, resident of the town of Jatahra, during

(4) the governorship of the exalted Khān and the great Khāqān

(5) Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn, Ismā'īl Khān, son of

(6) Niẓām Khān, may God perpetuate the shadow of his glory.

(7) A kingdom so firmly established and a rule so universally obeyed have not been given sign of in any body by Time since ages.

(8) On Thursday, the 6th of Sha'bān year 839 (A. H.=24th February 1436 A. D.).

(9) .... Bholā Mahrāj.

Ismā'īl Khān referred to in the record seems to be a governor owing allegiance to the Sultan of Kalpi, where a minor dynasty was reigning at the time when Kalpi was a buffer state between Jaunpur and Malwa. Nothing can be traced about him in the contemporary records. Ḥājjī Dabīr in his *Arabic History of Gujarat*, however, mentions one Majlis-i-Sāmī Ismā'īl Khān, *ruler* of Kalpi, who arrived in 841 A.H. to Chanderi enroute to Gujarat from where he intended to proceed for pilgrimage.[1] It is not definite if he is identical with the same Ismā'īl Khān of the present epigraph.

VI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE SHAIKHONWĀLĪ BĀOLĪ, DAULATPURA

It is reported that the *bāolī* is situated nearly one mile to the south-west of the village. It is a circular big well having stairs to reach the water. Its diameter is 19′ 6″. There is an inscription in the well embedded in the wall inside measuring 1′ 5″×1′. It is bilingual, the upper half being in Persian prose in six lines executed in *Naskhī* letters of an inartistic nature in relief and the lower portion in Sanskrit consisting of eight lines carved in *Nāgarī* script incised on stone. The Persian version records the construction of a step-well by one Shyām Kunwar *Kalāwantī* (musician), resident of the town of Jatahra, during the governorship of Tātār Khān, son of Muḥammad on Wednesday, in the month of Rajab 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in the Persian version does not mention the name of the ruler or the dynasty but only refers to the name of the governor appointed there. Tātār Khān was made governor of Jatahra by Buhlūl Lodī, and was later on confirmed by Sikandar Lodī when the latter visited Jatahra after ascending the throne.[2] About another person referred to in the epigraph, namely,

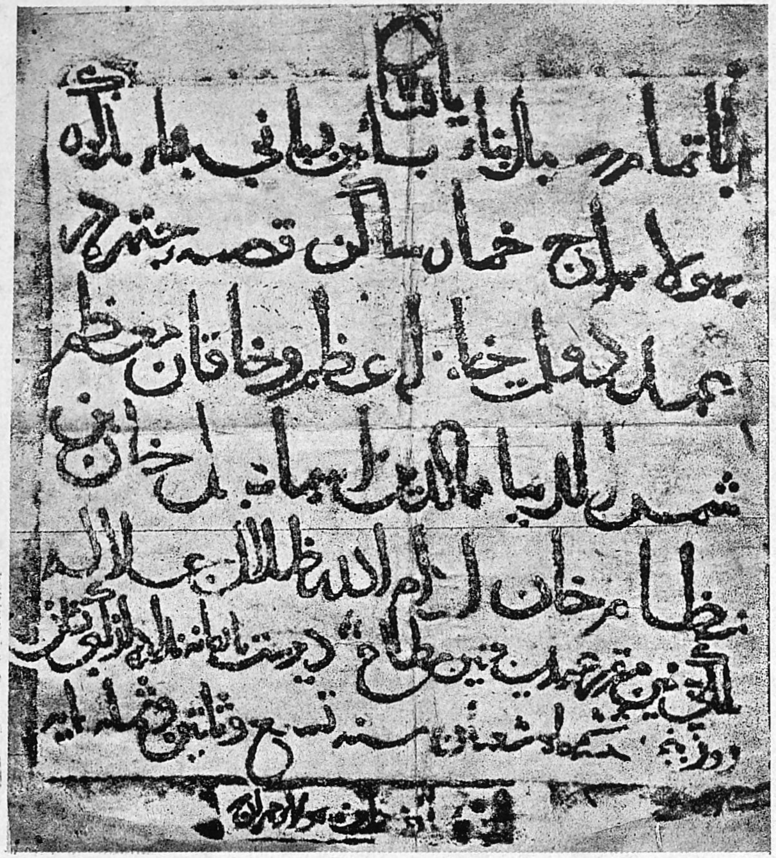
[1] *Ẓafaru'l Wālih*, pp. 197-98.

[2] *Ṭab. Akbarī*, p. 160.

(a) Over the entrance of Shaikh Ḥājī Ṣamad's tomb, Kalpi

Scale : ·32

(b) From the Laulāngaron Kī Bāolī, Jatara



Scale : ·266

(c) From the Shaikhonwālī Bāolī, Jatara

Scale : ·3

Shyām Kunwar Kalāwantī (the builder of the well), nothing is traceable in historical records. The epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII (c)

(۱) باتمام رسید بناء بائین و بانی

(۲) [شـ]یام کنور کلاونتی ساکن قصبه

(۳) جتهره در عهد دولت [خان][1] اعظم و خاقان

(۴) معظم تاتار خان بن محمد ادام الله

(۵) ظلال جلاله روز چهار شنبه ماه رجب

(٦) رجب قدره سنه ست و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of the *bā'īn* was finished and the builder (is)

(2) Shyām Kunwar *Kalāwantī* (musician or artist), resident of the town

(3) of Jatahra, during the governorship of the great (Khān)

(4) and exalted Khāqān, Tātār Khān, son of Muḥammad, may God perpetuate

(5) the shadows of His glory, on Wednesday, the month of Rajab,

(6) may its dignity increase, year 906 A.H. (January 1501 A.D.).

The inscription in Sanskrit cannot be fully deciphered owing to the indistinct nature of the inscription. The date is Vikrama Samvat 1557, Phalguna-Sudi 3. This seems to have fallen a few days later than "Wednesday, Rajab 906 A.H.", recorded in the Persian portion of the epigraph. Mention is made of the *rājya* or reign of one *Tātārā Khānā*, possibly called *Mahākhāna*, and to the subordinate ruler of Jatahada nagara, whose name is doubtful but ended in *udana*. Line 5 refers to the *vāpi* or step-well and line 3 to *Kalāwanta*. But the details known from the Persian part in this connection cannot be clearly made out.[2]

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAHI PERIOD FROM SIRUGUPPA

By Z. A. Desai

The following inscription which comes from Siruguppa in Bellary District was noticed by the Government Epigraphist some three decades back and a summary of its contents was published in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1922-23[3] where no attempt was made to identify 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān. It is stated there that 'Amadatulla Ayyāna mallika Abdulla Mahammada Rehan Sāheba *and* his chief Havaldār at Ādavāni (Adoni) and

[1] Probably the word خان is left out between the words دولت and اعظم .

[2] I am grateful to Dr. D. C. Sircar M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacammund, for sending a note on the Sanskrit version of the epigraph. He kindly examined the text and furnished the information about its contents.

[3] Pp. 46, 125.

Rayachūru (Raichur) are mentioned in a record from Siruguppa' (i.e., the present record). It may be observed that the chief *Ḥavāladār* at Adoni and Raichur is none other than 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, though this statement wants us to believe otherwise. As the inscription is not without historical interest, it is being published here alongwith its facsimile.

Siruguppa stands on a narrow branch of the Tungabhadra. The name Siruguppa means 'pile of wealth' and is well earned by the striking contrast which its rich wet land watered by two branches of an anicut channel from the Tungabhadra affords to the parched dry land around it. There is an old fort, on a bastion of which stands the temple of Sambhu Linga, the oldest in the village. Within its enclosure are two inscribed stones, but one is broken into two and the other is chipped.[1]

The present inscribed tablet which measures about 3′ by 1′ 4″ is reported to have been built into the wall of the bastion near the Śambhulingasvāmin temple. The epigraph has been inscribed in three languages, namely, Persian, Marathi and Kannada. The Persian version records the erection of a bastion in the midst of the river, while the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the erection of a well as well. It is further to be noted that the Kannada version is dated in Śaka Era, while the Persian and Marathi records bear the date in *Shuhūr San*. The Marathi record which is almost a translation of the Persian record otherwise, adds, as already stated, the words *Śambhudevu bāi* (a well of god Śambhu) before Ḥusainī Burj as also the benedictory words *dāma daulatah* after the name of the nobleman. The bastion is not mentioned by any name in the Persian record.

The Persian record is pretty weather-beaten and is inscribed in *Naskh* of a crude type with the result that a word or two could not be deciphered. It comprises three lines in prose. It begins with a religious text about the Omnipotence of God instead of the usual *Bismillāh*. There is no reference to the ruling king. At this period the Adil Shahi ruler was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(۱) و الله قادر علی ما یشاء

(۲) در سال شهور سنه سمان عشر (*sic.*) الف از جهت مقاصای ؟[2] حضرت شجاعت دستگاه ملک عالیشان سعادت نشان عمده الاعیان ملک عبد المحمد ابن ملک ریحان سر حوالدار قلعۀ ادونی و معاملت رایچور

(۳) و شهر محمد نور از جهت ؟ مقاصای حصار سرگوپه و بتهانه داری دلپتراو درمیان ندی برج بنا کرده بود بتاریخ بیست هفتم ماه رمضان المبارك روز الفته ؟ مستعد کرده شده است باقی خیر خوبی نصیب باد آمین

TRANSLATION

(1) God is Powerful over whatever He wills.

(2-3) In the *Shuhūr San* 1018, on behalf (?) of the intrepid master, Malik of high dignity, having signet of happiness, the best of grandees, Malik 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, *Sarḥavāldār* of the fort of Adawnī, the District of Rāichūr and the city of Muḥammad Nūr for (?) the *muqāṣā* of Sirguppa fort, and during the *thānadārī* of Dalpat Rāo, a bastion was constructed in the middle of the river, (which) has been completed on.....27th Ramaḍānu'l Mubārak. As for the rest, may (all) be blessed with goodness and excellence ! Amen.

[1] *Gazetteer of Bellary District*, p. 234.

[2] This phrase, the reading of which is doubtful, occurs in the next line also.

Marathi Version[1]

"This Marathi version is identical in the main with its Kannada version which has been translated.[2] The following changes may be noted :—

1. The date in line 1 is given in *Suhuru San*. The expression खान आाळी श्यन is an addition before अमदतुळ .
2. In line 4 दळुपतीराउ is mentioned as ठाणदार which is not so in Kannada. The Marathi word बाई[3] evidently stands for the Kannada *bhāvi* meaning a 'well'. The benediction at the end in Kannada is absent in Marathi."

Kannada Version

"Hail ! Let there be victory and prosperity. In the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1549 and Prabhava, on Jyēshṭha bahuḷa 30, Sunday, Rājeśrī Daḷapatirāya constructed a well of god Śaṁbhu and a bastion called Huseni Burju when Amadatulla Ayyāna mallika Abdulla Mahamada Rehana Sāhēba was holding charge of the Adavāni Fort as Sar Havāldar and of Mamale Rāyichūru, Śahar Mahamadanūru, Mokhāsā-hisāra Siruguppā. May this have the strength of the moon, the sun and the stars. May auspiciousness and splendour attend this."

Before we proceed to refer to the personages mentioned in the inscription, we may compare the three versions in their dates and contents. The Persian version records the date as 1018 *Shuhūr San*, while the Marathi clearly mentions 1028 *Sahur San* in words (*Samān Asharīn*). The latter date tallies with the year Śaka 1549 given in the Kannada version which corresponds to 1028 *Shuhūr San* or 1036 Hijra or 1627 A. D. It is very likely that the engraver of the Persian inscription may have inadvertantly inscribed سمان عشر instead of the correct date ثمان و عشرین.

As regards the contents, the Persian record mentions only the construction of the bastion in the middle of the river (the bastion is not called by any name), while both the Marathi and Kannada versions mention the construction of the bastion called Huseni Burj as well as that of a well of god Śambhu.

The epigraph is important from historical point of view. 'Abdu'l Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān of the inscription seems to have been one of the foremost grandees of the Adilshahi kings. It is really surprising to find the Persian chronicles completely silent regarding him. We do not find a mention of him even by name or otherwise, direct or indirect, in any work including the *Basātīnu's Salāṭīn*. Malik 'Abdu'l Muḥammad seems to have governed Raichur and its surrounding parts for a number of years, as may be gathered from a number of inscriptions at Raichur in which he appears as the builder of some monuments at that place. For example, the Jāmi' Mosque inside the fort of Raichur has two inscriptions mentioning its erection by him in 1032 A.H. (1622-23 A.D.) during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, while the inscription on Mīr Ḥusain Ṣāhib's dargāh speaks of a granary constructed by him in the same year. Another inscription dated in the same year, found near the Kati gate of Raichur speaks of him as *Amir 'Āmil* who constructed nine arches, and yet another on the gate itself records his having constructed the arch of the gate

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1 These two versions have been deciphered, translated and annotated for me by Shri P. B. Desai of the Government Epigraphist's Office, Ootacamund, through the good offices of Shri N. Laxminarayana Rao, Government Epigraphist, to both of whom my cordial thanks are due.

2 See below.

3 *Bā'īn* is used in a number of Persian inscriptions in the sense of a step-well. Also cf. *wāw* in Gujarati.

in the same year. An inscription from the Jāmi' Mosque of the town speaks of his having constructed the mosque, which was completed in 1038 A. H.[1]

Apart from these epigraphs, 'Abdu'l Muḥammad finds mention in a Telugu manuscript in Mackenzie collection, as having led, alongwith his brother 'Abdu'l Wahhāb, an attack on Kurnool in 1504 Siddharti.[2] Tradition ascribes to him as his resting place the larger of the tombs in Kurnool, known locally as 'Abdu'l Wahhāb kā Gumbad.[3] As regards Dalapatrāo during whose *thānadārī* the bastion was constructed, I have not been able to gather any information. However, the *Basātīn* mentions one Dalapatrāo, a *nāikwārī* at Dharwar who was imprisoned by Murārī in about 1045 A.H., when the latter fled to Dharwar. Murārī, it is said, could not get access to the fort at first, but later on, Dalapatrāo and other *nāikwārīs* came out of the fort and received him when he got them arrested.[4] But it is difficult to say whether he is the same person as mentioned in the present record. Both the Marathi and Kannada versions call him Rājeśrī.

It has not been possible to identify Muḥammadnūr, which seems to have some sort of association with the name of 'Abdu'l Muḥammad. The *Basātīn* gives various names of Kurnool, viz., Muḥammadnagar, Muḥammad Nūr etc.,[5] but whether Kurnool is meant here, it is difficult to say, due not only to the absence of any other evidence but also to the fact that the Hyderabad edition of the *Basātīn* is very corrupt.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN FROM SARAI EKDIL, DISTRICT ETAWA

By Y. K. Bukhari

Some time back, I brought to the notice of the ex-Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy two unpublished Persian inscriptions at Ekdil, a village in the District of Etawah in U.P. He wanted me to collect their estampages and write notes on them for publication in this Journal. My observations are as follows :—

Ekdil, a small town in the District of Etawah, lies in 26°46′N and 79°5′E, five miles east of Etawah on the road to Auraiya. The village is said to have been founded by Saksena Kayasths and called *Sarai Rupa* after the name of the founder. The railway station Ekdil is situated about a mile and a half to the north of the town on the Northern Railway. About a mile to the east of the town is a *bāolī* or stepped-well, said to have been built by a *Banjara*.[6]

In the reign of the Mughul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, a eunuch named Yakdil Khān constructed an inn (*sarāi*) and a small unpretentious mosque in the years 1039 A.H. and 1042 A.H. (1629 A.D. & 1632 A.D.) respectively and thenceforth the town came to be called Ekdil (or Yakdil) after him. A metalled road, lined up with shops on one side leads to the main gate built of red sandstone, bearing a Persian inscription above the arch. The other inscription appears on the mosque of Yakdil Khān nearby. Although of no particular importance today and the *Imperial Gazetteer* and the *District Gazetteer*, Etawah, are almost silent about it, the inscriptions under notice lead one to infer that it was a pretty important place in the mediaeval period and travellers used to stay there comfortably.

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1 Bashīru'd Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr*, part III, pp. 326, 329, 334-35.

2 *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXX, part III, December 1952, p. 311. The cycle *Siddharti* corresponds with the year 1541 Śaka and not 1504 Śaka. The former date therefore seems to be nearer to truth.

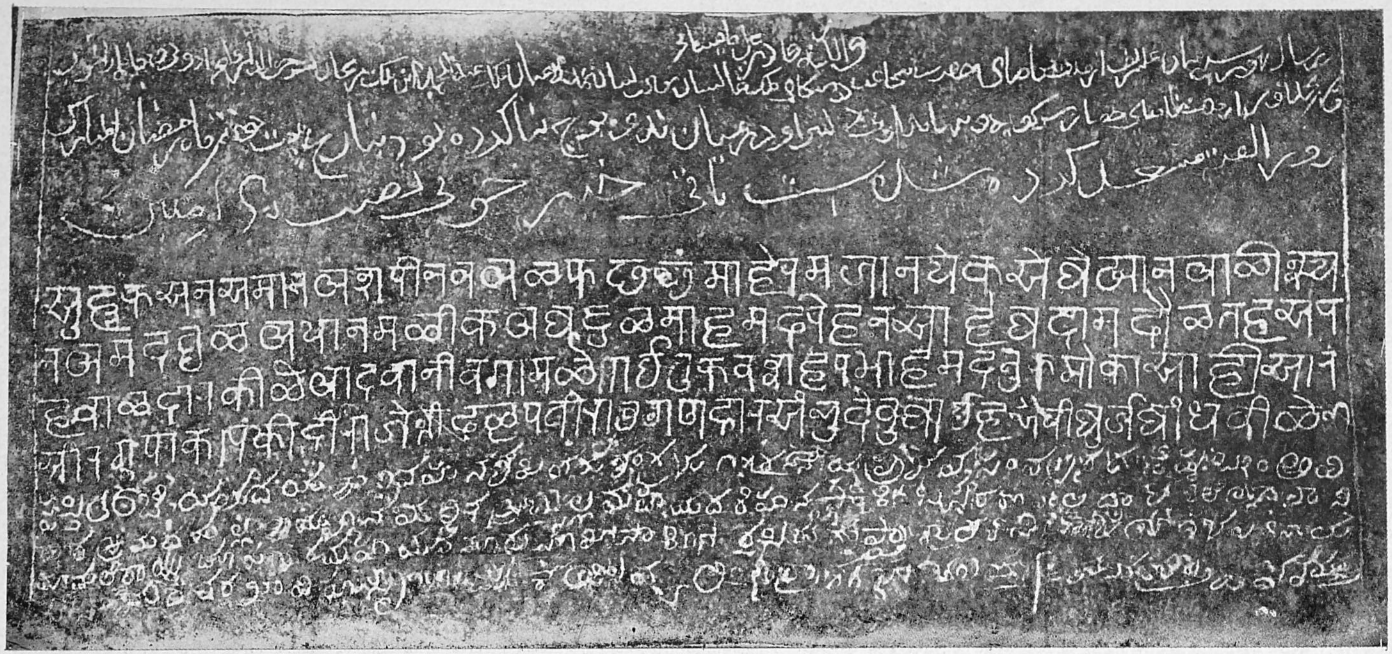
3 For the inscriptions in the Gumbad, see *E.I.—Arabic and Persian Supplement* for 1951 and 52, pp. 41-43.

4 P. 313.

5 Pp. 331, 386, 384, 524.

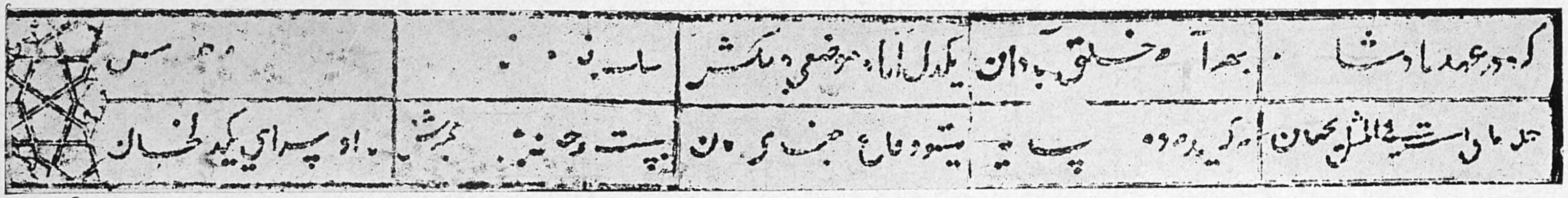
6 *District Gazetteer of United Provinces*, vol. XI, Etawah, p. 226.

(a) From the bastion near the Śambhulingaswāmin temple, Siruguppa



Scale : ·2

(b) Over the main gate of the town, Ekdil



Scale : ·08

(c) Over the main door of the mosque near Ekdil Sarai, Ekdil

Scale : ·18

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

It is in Persian verse carved on the slab of red sandstone measuring 6′ 11″×11″, fixed over the main gate of the town. The script is *Nasta'līq* carved in relief. The epigraph consists of two lines, arranged in ten horizontal panels containing one hemistich each and assigns the foundation of the town of Yakdilābād to Yakdil Khān. The chronogram is contained in the last line and yields the year 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). I read the text as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱)	[1] ک[ر]د در عہد بادشـــا[ہ جہاں]	بہـــر آ[رام] خلـــق [آ]بادان
(۲)	یکـــدل آباد موضعے دلکـــش	[ر]شک [بغداد و ضد اصفاهان]
(۳)	[باغ و اشجار و سرو گلزار]ش	خلد ثانی است فے المثل بجہان
(۴)	ہر کہ یکدم [درو با]ساید	میشود فا[ر]غ [از] جفاے [ز]مان
(۵)	جستم .... [سال] تعمیرش	[آمد] آ و [ا] سراے یکدلخان

TRANSLATION

(1-2) During the reign of the Emperor of the world ((Shāh Jahān), (Yakdil) founded for the [comfort] of the public a charming place Yakdilābād, [which is the] envy [of Baghdād and the rival of Isfahan].

(3) [On account of its flourishing gardens and blooming cypress-trees and orchards] it is proverbially the second paradise on earth.

(4) Whosoever rests [therein] for a while feels immune from the terrors of the world.

(5) I sought..............[the year] of its construction ; the voice [came] : *the inn of Yakdil Khān.*

The last line which is badly worn out, contains the chronogram. The reading of the date is doubtful. The first word of the last hemistich has completely peeled off leaving a faint trace of it on the stone. After that only the letters " او " are distinct and at the end the words سرای یکدلخان are clearly readable. Thus the phrase reads as یکدلخان سرای [ا]آو [آمد]. Although one would be inclined to think that the words *Sarāi Yakdil Khān* should be the chronogram of the monument, their numerical value according to *Abjad* calculations comes only to 986 A.H. or about 50 years before the commencement of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign during which the *sarāi* was actually set up. But if we add to this the numerical value of the words آمد آوا as well, we get the year 1039 A.H. (1629-30 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Fuhrer, as a passing remark, states that the gate of the town and the mosque were constructed in 1042 A.H., but he quotes no authority and so his version is also doubtful.[2]

[1] I had an opportunity to visit Sarāi Ekdil and read the inscription *in situ*. Most of the words in relief have either peeled off or are badly damaged. However, I tried my best to trace the effaced text on the inscription slab and the words so supplied have been given in the brackets.

[2] *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, p. 92.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The other Persian inscription is on an ordinary stone slab, measuring 2′ 7½″×4′ 3″, fixed above the main door of the mosque of Yakdil Khān near the Ekdil Sarāi noticed above. The inscriptional slab is arch-shaped. On the top there are two circular medallions inscribed with the words یا کافی (O sufficient) and یا فتاح (O opener). Beneath them appears the Throne Verse preceded by *Bismillāh* executed in *Naskh* characters in relief. The historical portion of the epigraph is contained in the last line, carved in *Nasta'līq* script in relief.

Unfortunately there is nothing traceable in the historical records about the personages referred to in the epigraph, but it appears that, as a man of note, Bhīkan Khān was entrusted with the construction of the mosque of Yakdil Khān, the founder of the town of Yakdilābād and the Ekdil Sarāi, in the reign of Emperor Shān Jahān and that the mosque was completed in 1042 A.H. (1032 A.D.). The name of the scribe Muḥammad 'Alī, occurs at the end and the historical portion of the epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (c)

(۱) بدور شاه جهان بادشاه کون مکان — بنای مسجد خود ساخت بنده یکدل خان

(۲) بکرم ایزد بیچون چو انصرام رسید — باهتمام شجا[ع]ت شعار بهیکن خان

کتبه محمد علی

سنه ۱۰۳۲

TRANSLATION

(1) During the time of Shāh Jahān, king of the universe, the slave Yakdil Khān founded his own mosque.

(2) (It was) completed by the grace of God under the supervision of the brave Bhīkan Khān. Written by Muḥammad 'Alī. Year 1042 (A.H.=1632 A.D.).

AN INSCRIPTION OF SHAH JAHAN FROM HAJO IN ASSAM

By Z. A. Desai

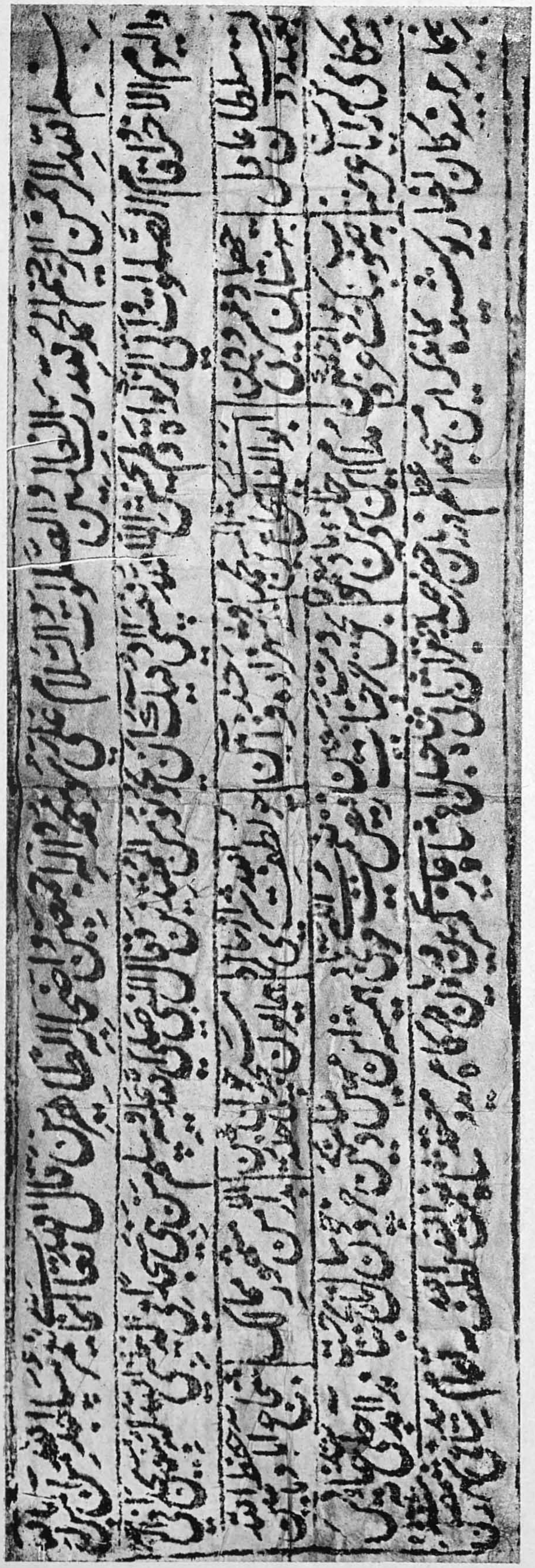
In 1953, the then Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions had secured an inked rubbing of an inscription from the mosque known today as Poa Mecca Mosque, situated on the summit of a hill near Hajo, a village on the left bank of the river Brahmaputra, about 15 miles by road from Gauhati. Hajo which seems to have been an important town in the days of old, is even today celebrated for its temple, dedicated to Siva, which stands in a picturesque situation on the top of a low hill.[1]

The Director General of Archaeology in India had visited the place in February 1952, and the following brief account of the mosque is derived from his notes : The Poa Mecca mosque in *mauza* Hajo stands on the Garudachal hill. Its importance is derived from a grave, ascribed to Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban, a Muslim saint,[2] which lies some 20 feet to the west of the mosque. The

[1] *Imp. Gaz. of India*, XIII, p. 8. For an interesting account of Hajo hill or rather group of hills, see *J.A.S.B.* LXI, 1892, part I, pp. 35 ff. An incomplete reading of the present inscription along with its translation is given there, but it is not without mistakes.

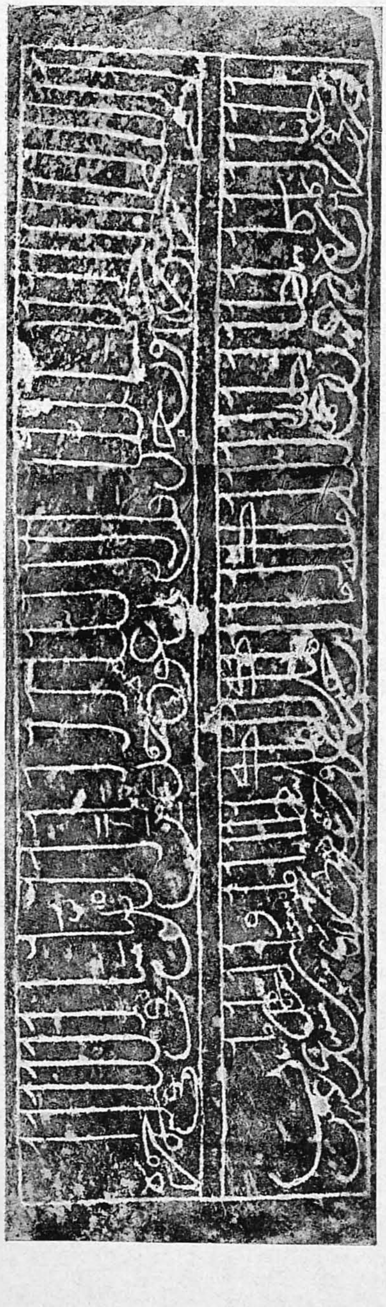
[2] The name of the saint is somewhat peculiar.

PLATE XIV



(a) From the Poa Mecca Mosque, Hajo

Scale : ·18



(b) Over the central miḥrāb of the ʿĪdgāh, Mahuva

Scale : ·15

terrace round the grave and the mosque which are constructed on a high plinth, has a parapet around, with pillars connected to each other by horizontal iron-track fencing. The mosque, as it stands today, was entirely rebuilt some ten years ago, but instead of trying to restore the facing and the fallen parts of the terrace, and preserve such features of the mosque as existed originally, it was pulled down and thoroughly reconstructed. The mosque and the grave are being maintained by a committee of 15 members, out of the revenue realised from the lands endowed for the purpose by Shah Shuja and the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The slab bearing the following inscription measures 4′ 10″ by 1′ 8″, and is fixed above the right panel over the northern door in the east wall. The historical portion of the epigraph is inscribed in Persian. The stone is divided into five horizontal panels. The first two of these contain the religious texts ; the third panel is again cut into eight parts each containing a hemistich ; the fourth panel was obviously to be divided into eight parts to contain eight more hemistiches but only three small panels were made while the remaining five hemistiches are inscribed in the undivided portion of this panel. The last panel contains a line in prose. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque by Luṭfu'llāh Sh̲īrāzī during the reign of Sh̲āh Jahān in 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.). The script employed in the epigraph is *Nasta'līq* of a high order. The inscription has suffered considerably owing to inclemency of weather and passage of time.

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم - الحمد لله رب العالمین و الصلوات و السلام علی رسوله
محمد و آله اجمعین و اصحابه الطاهرین - قال الله تعالی انما یعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله

(۲) و الیوم الاخر و اقام الصلوات و آتی الزکواة و لم یخش الا الله فعسی اولیک ان
یکونو من المهتدین و قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی الله له سبعین
مسجدا فی الاخره

(۳) بعهد دولت سلـــطان عادل　　شهنشاه جهان و خسروی دین
ابو الغازی شجاع الدین محمد　　شه و شهزاده فرخنده آئین
چو لطف الله شیرازی بنا کرد　　همایون مسجدی چون خلد رنگین
بدار الامن مشهور ممالك　　شجاع آباد حفظ الله تامین

(۴) به هنگامی که رایات عزیمت　　به صوب بنگ بود از عز و تمکین
مدام این خانهٔ دین باد معمور　　بحق و حرمت جنات سبعین[1]
ز میض نعمت اللهی قوی باد　　همیشه این مهین بنیاد سنگین
خرد چون سال ناریخ بنا جست　　ندا آمد جلی شد خانه دین

(۵) بر ضمایر جویندگان اخبار پوشیده نماند که این مسجد اعظم در زمان حضرت صاحب
قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی کمترین فدویان درگاه مرید و معتقد شاه نعمت الله لطف الله به
اتمام رسانید فی شهر رمضان سنه ۱۰٦۷

[1] See note 2 on the next page.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. All praise is due to God, the Lord of the worlds ; and blessings and peace be upon His Apostle, Muḥammad, and his descendents and his pious companions. God, the Most High says : The mosques of God shall be visited and maintained by such as believe in God.

(2) and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance.[1] And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, has said : He who builds a mosque in (this) world, God builds for him seventy mosques in the hereafter.

(3) During the reign of the just king, the emperor of the world and the chief of Faith,

Abū'l Ghāzī Shujā'u'd Dīn Muḥammad, the auspicious ruler and prince,

when Luṭfu'llāh Shīrāzī founded (this) august mosque as beautiful as Paradise,

at the 'abode of peace' celebrated throughout the countries viz., Shujā'-ābād, may God preserve it ! Amen !

(4) (It was) at a time when the standards of (royal) intention were in the province of Bengal with glory and grandeur.

May this abode of Faith for ever prosper and flourish out of regard for and the sanctity of seven[2] paradises !

May this magnificent stone-edifice remain for ever strong through the grace of Ni'matu'llāh.

When Wisdom sought the year of its construction, a (heavenly) voice said : *The House of Faith has become manifest.*

(5) Let it not remain hidden from the minds of the seekers of news that the construction of this grand mosque was completed in the reign of His Majesty, the second Ṣāḥib Qirān, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, by Luṭfu'llāh, the humblest of the servants of the state, and a disciple and admirer of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh, in the month of Ramaḍān, 1067 (A.H.=Jun.-Jul. 1657 A.D.).

The date is also afforded by the chronogram contained in the words, 'The House of Faith has become manifest.'

Mīr Luṭfu'llāh Shīrāzī, mentioned in the epigraph as the builder of the mosque, held the rank of 500, 300 horse, under Shāh Jahān,[3] and was the *faujdār* of Kamrup during the governorship of Shāh Shujā' of Bengal. Towards the close of the year 1067 A.H., when the news of Shāh Jahān's protracted illness spread in the distant parts and far off places of the realm, Shujā' also proclaimed himself king and in his bid for the throne marched towards Patna and Bihar and thence to Banaras. In the chaos thus caused, the province of Kamrup was invaded by the *Rāja* of Kuch Bihar, while at the same time, the *Rāja* of Assam also sent a large force by land as well as water towards Kamrup. Luṭfu'llāh, finding himself surrounded by two enemies and despairing of any help, managed to rescue himself and reached Decca. The army of Kuch Bihar found itself challenged by the Assamese and beat a safe retreat, leaving Kamrup in the sole possession of the Assamese.[4] The country was reconquered by Mīr Jumla Mu'aẓẓam Khān, the celebrated general of Aurangzeb a few years later.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh whose disciple and admirer Mīr Luṭfu'llāh was, is none other than Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Fīrūzpūrī so called from his association with Firuzpur near Gaur where he died in

[1] *Qur'ān*, IX, 18.

[2] سبعين as written here cannot be seventy, but in all probability it is سبع transcribed so.

[3] *Bādshāh Nāma*, p. 747.

[4] *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 678-79 ; *Riyāḍu's Salāṭīn*, pp. 218-19.

1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.).[1] He is reputed as a saint for whom Prince Shujā' had great respect.[2] Besides being a saint, he seems to have been something of a poet as well. It is said that on the day the order of transfer of the governorship of Bengal from Khanazād Khān to Nawwāb Mukarram Khān was being drawn up at Delhi, Shāh Ni'matu'llāh sent to Khanazād Khān, a *qaṣīda* which he had composed in his praise and in this *qaṣīda* there was one verse which gave Khanazād Khān an indication of his coming transfer. The transfer orders were received about a month after.[3] He lies buried in a fine domed building adjacent to a small plain mosque on the bank of a large tank in Mahdipur, near Gaur.[4]

It appears from the epigraph that the town was named Shujā'-ābād, probably after the name of Prince Shujā', though we do not find mention of it by this name in contemporary historical works.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT FROM SAURASHTRA

By Z. A. Desai

Saurashtra, the peninsular part of Gujarat, which had been for some time past called Kathiawar lies on the west coast of India between 20° 40′ and 23° 25′ north latitude and 69° 20′ east longitude. Formerly divided into a number of native states, and now a Part B state under the Indian Republic, it contains architectural antiquities and monuments including a number of inscriptions and epigraphs spread over the whole state. Though isolated in its geographical position, Saurashtra has not remained free in the mediæval ages from the attacks without; ' the power that held sway on the mainland has generally always experienced suzerainty over the group of Hindu Princes, many of them of ancient lineage, who held sway in Kathiawar '. Junagarh, the ' most important capital city of the peninsula for over a thousand years ', was the ' seat of the Fauzdars or Governors who administered it on behalf first of the Gujarat Sultans and later of the Mughal Viceroys at Ahmadabad'.[5] This long association of the state with Muslim rule has resulted in the existence of a large number of buildings and monuments bearing Persian and Arabic inscriptions, some of which, collected from several places in the state during my recent tour are studied here.

Most of these inscriptions have suffered much on account of weather and sea-climate, though their present damaged state is not less due to neglect and lack of care. It is surprising that these inscriptions should have escaped the notice of scholars as well as archaeological authorities in the past. Even today, the state of these epigraphs is far from being satisfactory, and the Archaeological Department of Saurashtra should take necessary steps to arrest their further deterioration by protecting them.

An earlier attempt to copy and study these inscriptions when they were in a better state might have proved very useful insomuch as portions which do not admit of decipherment now could have been read then. The former state of Bhavnagar had, no doubt, taken a lead in this matter by publishing the texts, without facsimiles, of some inscriptions from Saurashtra and a few more from Gujarat as early as in 1886 in the form of a small book entitled *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*.

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[1] H. Beveridge, *J. A. S. B.*, LXIV, 1895, where a detailed notice of the *Khūrshīd-i-Jahān Numā* by S. Ilāhī Bakhsh al-Ḥusainī Angrezābādī occurs. This book contains a biography of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh (p. 197). For inscriptions mentioning Shāh Ni'matu'llāh and copied from this book, see p. 201. Also see, T. W. Beale, *Miftāḥu't Tawārīkh*, p. 274.

[2] *Riyāḍ*, p. 217.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[4] *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1896), p. 446.

[5] Commissariat, M. S., *History of Gujarat*, I, v.

Though it was a singular service done to the cause of Arabic and Persian Epigraphy, for which students of Gujarat History in general and epigraphy in particular must ever remain indebted, it must be said that the work lacks that scientific and proper study of inscriptions which should mark a work of this nature, not to speak of a number of mistakes of print and otherwise, that have crept in. After that date, however, nobody gave any thought to these inscriptions and many others that might exist unknown to us, with the result that not only their condition has deteriorated but in some cases, inscriptions have totally disappeared. Thus, for example, the inscription from Pānch Bībī's Kotha, at Somnath Patan, and another from Ḥasan Pīr's Dargāh at Talaja, the latter belonging to the reign of the last Sultan of Gujarat, could not be traced.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, as already remarked, is too full of mistakes and misreadings, especially of dates, to be relied upon as a source of historical research, and in fact, it has mislead some scholars. It was therefore felt that these inscriptions should be re-edited along with a few hitherto unpublished inscriptions that have been only recently found.

I have divided them into three groups: First of inscriptions that belong to pre-Sultanate period, second, of those belonging to the Sultanate period, and the third of those dealing with the post-Sultanate period. The second group has been dealt with in this article, the other two being reserved for the subsequent numbers of this journal. All the Gujarat Sultans except Muḥammad I, Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II and Muẓaffar III are represented by the inscriptions studied below. The reigns of Muḥammad I, Dā'ūd, Sikandar and Maḥmūd II were too short-lived to possess any such records, while Muẓaffar III had, from the very beginning of his reign, to experience quite a vicissitude of fortune until his tragic death in 1000 A.H. An inscription mentioning him is reported to have existed in Talaja but is now no more traceable.

A study of the following inscriptions will show that four of them bear their respective dates preceded by the words *Shuhūr San*. This confronts us with a problem as to whether *Shuhūr* era is meant by this expression, or simply the scribe inadvertantly inscribed these words without knowing anything about *Shuhūr San*. The dates preceded by the words *Shuhūr San* in these epigraphs are 860, 938, 962, and 946 (the reading of this last date is doubtful). In all these cases, the months are also given; so, on the face of it, it would appear that the *Shuhūr* era and not the *Hijra* one is meant. Now, if the *Shuhūr* era is meant, it would obviously have to be identical with the one in vogue in Deccan, since we do not have any specific information regarding its reckoning in Gujarat. The first three of these inscriptions bear the names of the ruling monarchs. These dates, if taken as of *Shuhūr* era, would fall out of the reigns of the respective kings. To be clear, 860 is the date of Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad II's inscription. *Shuhūr* 860 would mean 864 A.H., but Maḥmūd I, who had succeeded Aḥmad II in 862 A.H., was the ruling king then; likewise, 938 is the date of the inscription of Bahādur Shāh who died in 943 A.H., while the corresponding *Hijra* year of 938 *Shuhūr* era would be 944; similarly, 962 is the date of the inscription of Sulṭān Aḥmad III. The *Shuhūr* 962 would correspond to 969 A.H., while that monarch was killed in 968 A.H. In view of this, the mention of the word *Shuhūr* seems more due to conventional mode of writing than otherwise.

Muzaffar Shah

I.—INSCRIPTION FROM VERAVAL

This bilingual record is incised on a slab of stone measuring 2'6" by 1'6" which is fixed into the inner face of the west wall of the mortuary of a small unpretentious tomb of Maghribī Shāh, situated near the Customs house at Veraval. The Persian version is composed of four lines in Persian prose, while the Sanskrit one, incised below, consists of three lines. The Persian record mentions the construction of the city-wall and a guard-room which was started in 810 A.H. during the reign of Ẓafar Khān Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the second Sultan of Gujarat and was brought to completion in the following year. The Sultan is mentioned with his pre-kingship

as well as his royal titles, the latter without his *kunyat* which was, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Abū'l Mujāhid.[1] The inscription is apparently not *in situ*. It appears to have been removed from its original place which may have been a guard-room in the city-wall of the town. The builder is Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā,[2] who is also mentioned in an inscription of Sultan Aḥmad I.[3]

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - بتاريخ چهاردهم ماه شوال سنه عشر و ثمانمايه بنا اين حصار و خانه

(٢) در عهد خان اعظم ظفر خان وجيه الملك شمس الدنيا و الدين مظفر شاه السلطان

(٣) بعهده داری [و] فرمايش ملک فضل الله احمد ابو رجا و در بيست هفتم ماه ربيع الاول سنه احدی عشر و ثمانمايه مرتب شده

(٤) هرکه برسد بدعاء سلامتی ايمان اين ضعيف را ياد کند و فاتحة الکتاب بخواند

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. On the 14th of the month of Shawwāl (of the) year 810 (A.H. or 13th March 1408 A.D.), the building of this city-wall and house

(2-3) (was commenced) during the reign of Khān-i-A'ẓam Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l Mulk, Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, under the supervision and order of Malik Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad Abū Rajā, and was completed on the 27th of Rabī' I, year 811 (A.H. or 20th Aug. 1408 A.D.).

(4) Let whoever visits this, remember this weak (slave) with the prayers for the safety of his Faith, and recite the *Fātiḥa* (opening chapter) of the Book (i.e., the Quran).

Sanskrit version[4]

TEXT

1. Saṁvat 1464 varshē Chaitra vadi 2........Śrī-Śrī Dapharshā(khā) na....Sāha
2. Mudāpharasulatāna-vijayarājyē mahāmalika-Śrī-Phajarala-Ahamada a ....kārā-
3. pitaṁ Śrāvaṇa vadi 13 nishpana (nna) ḥ || Śubhaṁ bhavatu maṁgalam-astu||

Note

Damaged. Refers to the Saṁvat year 1464, chaitra vadi 2 and the victorious reign of Dapharashā(khā) na.......Mudāphara Sulatāna, when something was caused to be made by Phajarala Ahamada. The work was completed on Śrāvaṇa vadi 13.

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[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bibl. Ind.), vol. III, p. 93.

[2] Abū Rajā is a *kunyat*. We are told by Sayyid Hāshim bin Kamālu'd Dīn Muḥammad, the author of *Ṣaḥāifu's Sādāt* that Abū Rajā is the *kunyat* of 'Abdu'r Raḥmān, son of Amīri'l Mu'minīn Abī Bakr, and that Khudāwand Khān Ṣiddīqī, a *vazīr* of Ẓafar Khān was known as Abū Rajā'ī (*Nawā-i-Adab*, Bombay, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 57-58). Shams Sirāj 'Afīf says: Abūrajāyān are a group of people from up-country (*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., p. 454). It appears that Faḍlu'llāh Aḥmad was known as Abū Rajā because he claimed descent from the above mentioned 'Abdu'r Raḥmān, and very possibly the term Abū Rajā had passed on into something of a family name. Shamsu'd Dīn Abū Rajā, far more celebrated than Faḍlu'llāh was a notable grandee of Fīrūz and was also for sometime the *nāẓim* of Gujarat.

[3] *Corpus Insc. Bhavnagari*, p. 20. This inscription, originally from Somnath Patan, is now preserved in the State Museum, Junagarh.

[4] The transcript of this version alongwith a note on it was kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, to whom I am grateful.

The inscriptions of Ẓafar K͟hān so far published do not represent him as a king. Hence this inscription which bears his name and royal titles possesses a special importance and furnishes us with a firsthand evidence for the fact that Ẓafar K͟hān was already an independent king in the second half of the year 810 A.H. This raises an interesting question as to when did Ẓafar K͟hān assume independence ? The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, Firis͟hta and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* give 810 A.H. as the year in which Ẓafar K͟hān declared his independence and assumed the title of a king.[1] The Cambridge History of India, however, puts the date a few years earlier. According to it, ' the kingdom of Gujarat was established in 1396 A.D............ In 1396, the strife between two rival kings Mahmūd Shah and Nusrat Shah and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due, furnished him (i.e., Zafar Khan) with the pretext for declaring himself independent.......'[2] This statement appears hardly to be correct. For, apart from the statements of the *Mir'āt*, Firis͟hta and the *Ṭabaqāt*, there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that Ẓafar K͟hān did not declare his independence in 1396 nor was there any impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due—to Maḥmūd S͟hāh or Nuṣrat S͟hāh. An epigraph from Mangrol, dated 797 A.H., mentions N. ṣrat S͟hāh as the ruling king and Ẓafar K͟hān as the governor of Gujarat.[3] Another record, from Ghogha near Bhavnagar, dated in the same year, also mentions Nuṣrat S͟hāh as the ruling monarch and Ẓafar K͟hān as the governor.[4] Fortunately, we have another inscription of Ẓafar K͟hān mentioning him as *muqti'* of the province of Gujarat, as late as in 807 A.H.[5] which goes to corroborate the statements of the *Mir'āt* etc. that even after the death of Tātār K͟hān (or Muḥammad S͟hāh I) who was the first to enjoy kingship of Gujarat, though only for a period of two months from Jumādī II to S͟ha'bān 806 A.H. (December 1403 to March 1404 A.D.), Ẓafar K͟hān did not assume royalty. It was only in 810 that urged by the nobles of Gujarat, he assumed kingship.[6]

Ahmad Shah I

Muẓaffar I was succeeded by his grandson Aḥmad S͟hāh, the celebrated founder of the city of Ahmadabad. He is supposed to have ascended the throne of Gujarat on the 14th Ramaḍān 813 A.H. or 10th Janua.y 1411 A.D.[7] The gap of some six to seven months between the dates of the death of Muẓaffar S͟hāh as given in the *Mir'āt* and of the accession of Sultan Aḥmad has not been taken due notice of, and is not referred to by Professor Commissariat in his monumental work on the history of Gujarat, a latest work on the subject ; the learned professor accepts the date of death of Muẓaffar given in the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, viz., Ṣafar 813 A.H. or June-July 1410 A.D. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and Firis͟hta give the date of his death as Ṣafar 814 A.H. The question therefore arises as to which of these two dates is correct. If the earlier date is accepted, the gap of seven months as already mentioned cannot be accounted for. The throne of Gujarat could not have remained unoccupied for about seven months, since Sultan Aḥmad, the legal heir, is not reported in any history to have been away at that time from the capital. The *Ṭabaqāt*, however, states that Muẓaffar invested his grandson with kingship during his life-time and lived for five months and sixteen days after the accession of Sultan Aḥmad. Under the circumstances, the account of the *Ṭabaqāt* appears to be correct.

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[1] Dr Chaghtai, in his *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 11 writes on the authority of the *Mir'āt* that 'after ruling for a period of three years and seven months Zafark͟hān died in the month of Safar, 813 A.H. (M.S. 19)' which is wrong. What *Mir'āt* says is that he assumed kingship in 810 A.H., three years and seven months after the date of the death of his son.

[2] Vol. III, pp. 294-95.

[3] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 16.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7, where the date is incorrectly read as 777 A.H.

[5] *E.I.M.*. 1939-40, pp. 2-3.

[6] *M.S.*, p. 19; *T.A.*, III, p. 92.

[7] *M.S.*, p. 22 ; *T.A.*, III, p. 95 ; Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, p. 79.

Four of the following five inscriptions of Sultan Aḥmad have been noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*. Their texts as given there are full of mistakes and misreadings, some of which are of a serious character. To quote only one instance, the inscription no. VI below is stated to have been 'written soon after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb when Prince Azam, his second son held the sway for a short time '[1], despite the clear mention, in the text quoted, of Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fatḥ Aḥmad S̲h̲āh who is none other than Sultan Aḥmad I. It may also be pointed out that the words *t̲h̲amān mi'ya* (eight hundred) are distinct in the epigraph (Plate XVII a).

II.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE 'ĪDGĀH, MAHUVA

Mahuva, about sixty five miles to the south-west of Bhavnagar, is the headquarter of the *taluq* of the same name in Gohilwad District.[2] The *'Īdgāh* is situated to the north-west of the town on the road to Talgājarda, and bears an inscriptional slab measuring 2′10″ by $10\frac{1}{2}$″ fixed over its central *miḥrāb*. The epigraph consists of two lines in mixed Arabic and Persian, incised in *Nask̲h̲* characters in *Ṭug̲h̲rā* fashion.[3] It appears to have been the work of an unskilled engraver, since not only the sentences are left incomplete but, even the tradition of the Prophet, so commonly found in inscriptions on mosques, is not fully and properly written. It records the erection of the 'Īdgāh on 27th of S̲h̲a'bān 821 A.H. by Malik Jauhar Sulṭānī in the reign of Aḥmad S̲h̲āh I.

It is rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا من بناء فی الدنیا
بناه الله فی الاخره

(۲) قصر الاحمر بنای این نمازگاه در عهد سلطان احمد خلد الله ملکه اما این خیر
ملک الشرق ملک جوهر سلطانی بتاریخ بیست هفتم ماه شعبان سنه احدی عشرین و ثمان مایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. He who builds (a mosque) in the world, God builds for him in the hereafter

(2) a palace of rubies. The construction of this *Namāzgāh*[4] (was executed) during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad, may God perpetuate his kingdom. Now this good work (was done by) Maliku's̲h̲ S̲h̲arq Malik Jauhar Sulṭānī on the 27th of S̲h̲a'bān in the year 821 (A.H.=29th September 1418 A.D.).[5]

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[1] *Corp. Ins. Bhav.*, p. 56.

[2] For Mahuva and its history, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 536-37.

[3] The style of writing has been mainly responsible for the incorrect and corrupt reading in *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 22, which makes no sense.

[4] The word *namāzgāh* generally denotes an 'Idgāh.

[5] *The Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 22, gives the date as 6th Shaban 826 A.H., and the name of the builder as Malik Asare-Mulk or/and Javehr. It also reads the last words as 'the Sultan of the time and the dignity of the two communities (Mahomedans and Hindus ?) '.

Thus, though there is no mention in historical works regarding the reduction of this part of Saurashtra by Sultan Aḥmad, it appears from this inscription that within the first few years of his reign, the eastern Saurashtra was included within the Sultan's territories. Historical works are likewise silent regarding Malik Jauhar, who as his very title suggests, must have been a noble of first rank. Professor Commissariat who follows the *Bombay Gazetteer* speaks of the inscription thus: An old mosque.......contains an inscription in Arabic dated *Sur San* 826 (A.D. 1425) in the region of Sultan Ahmad stating that the mosque was built by one Malik Asarul Mulk bin Malik Jauhar.[1] It will be seen that the epigraph is not dated *Sur San,* the date is not 826 and lastly, the name of the builder is not Malik Asaru'l Mulk, son of Malik Jauhar.

III.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The second inscription of Sultan Aḥmad is stored in the Record Office, Mangrol. Mangrol, formerly the seat of the Mangrol State and now a sub-divisional headquarter in Sorath District is situated on the shore of the Arabian sea in about 70° 10′ east longitude and 21° 7′ north latitude. A city of antiquity, it is supposed by some to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy.[2] It contains a number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions mostly belonging to the Tughluq period and earlier period of the Gujarat Sultanate. Most of these inscriptions were removed by the former State authorities to the Record Office which is housed in a portion of the palatial Durbārgarh. The present epigraph is one of them. It is reported to have been 'raised on the *chotra* in the graveyard near the Gādī gate at Mangrol'.[3] The slab of sandstone measuring 1′10″ by 1′ is subjected to much damage caused by sea-climate and also by wear and tear of time. Its letters were found almost broken when it was noticed in the *Corpus*; they are much more effaced now. The epigraph comprises four lines in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* with a *Ṭughrā* flourish. It records the construction of a mosque and *Jamā'at Khāna* during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. The name of the builder is Khūnd Shah Shams, son of Dā'ūd, son of Shams. The date is most probably 828 A.H. The name of the superintendent is Amīr Quṭb, son of 'Ālam.

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(۱) عمارت این مسجد و جماعتخانه در عهد دولت بندگی شاه عالم پناه ناصر الدنیا و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(۲) و بانی خانهٔ ؟ مذکوره بندهٔ ملک الشرق ملک بندگی فتح خان الراجی ؟ الی رحمة الله تعالی

(۳) خوند شه شمس بن داؤد بن شمس است من ماه محرم شهور سنه ثمان ؟ عشرین و ثمانمایه ازین فرض ؟ ....

(۴) .... بکار فرمائی امیر قطب بن عالم .... لوالدیه و له ؟

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque and *Jamā'at Khāna* (took place) in the reign of His Majesty the King, Refuge of the world, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King.

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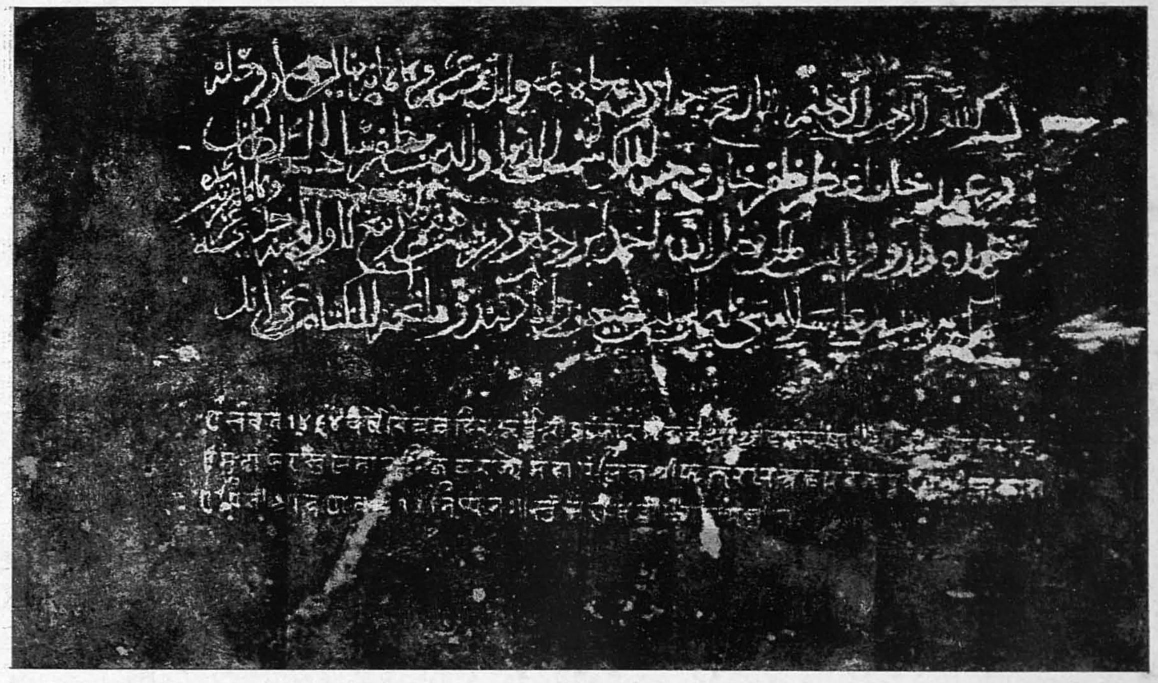
[1] *Opp. cit.*, p. 123.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 542.

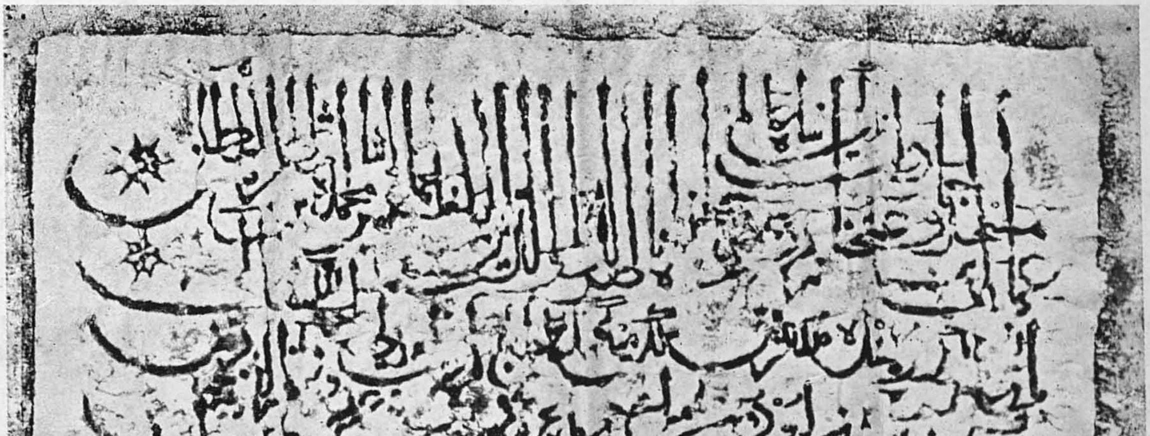
[3] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 21 where a very imperfect reading is given.

(*a*) From the tomb of Maghribī Shāh, Veraval



Scale: ·2

(*b*) From the Record Office, Mongrol

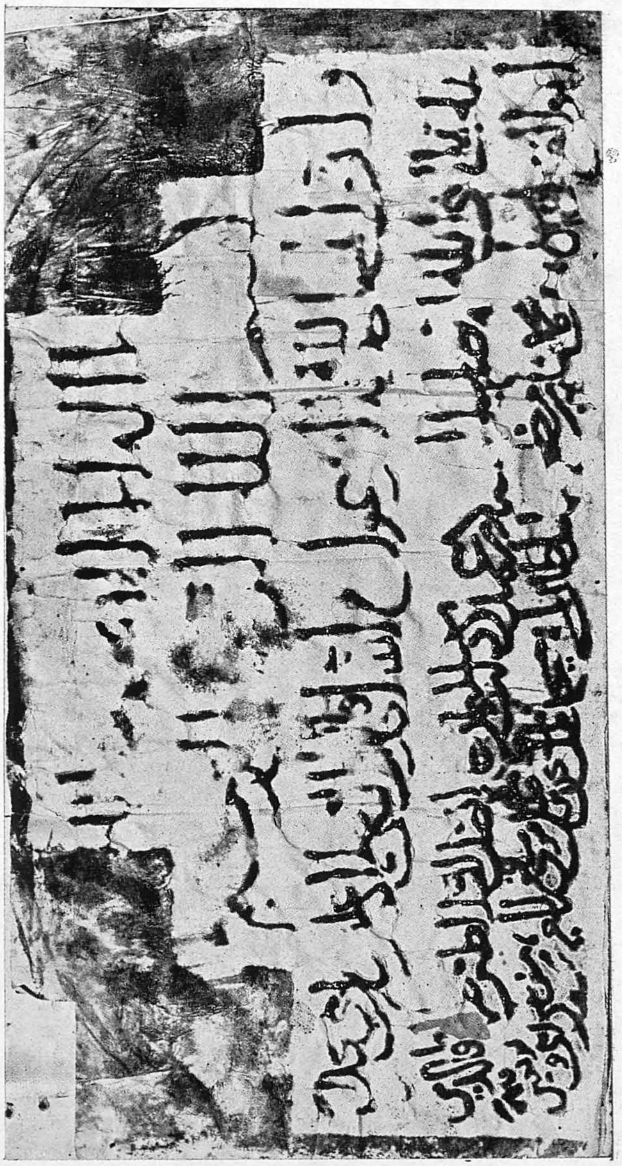


Scale: ·25

PLATE XVI

(a) Over the central miḥrāb, Bazar Mosque, Patan (Somnath)

Scale : ·2



(b) From the Jāmiʿ Mosque, Wadhwan City

Scale : ·33

(2) And the builder of the said house is the servant of the great Malik Maliku'sh Sharq, the exalted Malik, Fatḥ Khān,[1] (viz.) hopeful of the mercy of God,

(3) Khūnd Shah Shams, son of Dā'ūd, son of Shams. In the month of Muḥarram, eight hundred and twenty-eight (?) (1424 A.D.)........

(4) ....under the superintendence of Amīr Quṭb, son of 'Ālam......................

IV.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BAZAR MOSQUE, PATAN

The third inscription of Aḥmad Shāh is found engraved on a slab of marble put up over the central *miḥrāb* of a small unpretentious mosque in Patan.[2] The Bazar Mosque, as it is called these days, is an old structure having no pretence to any architectural distinction. The *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*[3] speaks of an inscription which was ' placed in the mosque near the residence of the police officer of Veraval ' in or before 1886, the year in which that work was published. Extensive search for the recovery of this inscription in the course of my visit to Veraval yielding no result, I thought that the inscription had disappeared. When I came across this inscription in its present place, which is hardly at a distance of two miles from Veraval, it struck to me that the text of this inscription as also the measurements of the slab and the lines into which it was divided bore striking similarity to the inscription from Veraval as given in the *Corpus*. After a careful comparison, I have come to the conclusion that the present epigraph is the same as the one from Veraval, where it was probably lying loose and was later shifted to and fixed on the present mosque to which it may have originally belonged.

The epigraph is greatly damaged ; many of the letters have either peeled off or become indistinct, especially in the last line which contains the name of the builder. The date portion is too damaged to admit of any final reading. It records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh in 839 (?) A.H.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an ordinary type and the language is Persian prose. The tablet measures 3′11″ by 7″. It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - در عهد سلطان اعظم ناصر الدنیا

(۲) و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بنا کرد عمارت این مسجد برادر ملک

(۳) عطا طاهر .... الی رحمه .... ابن .... تم ذلک فی الرابع و العشرین ؟ شهر رمضان تسع و ثلا[ثین] ؟ و ثمانمایه

---

[1] For Prince Fatḥ Khān, mentioned in an inscription of the same king in the same place, see no. VI below.

[2] Patan or Prabhas Patana, where the celebrated temple of Somnath attracts a large number of visitors throughout the year is situated on the Arabian Sea. It is connected by road with Veraval which is the terminus on the Veraval-Viramgam section of the Western Railway. Patan seems to have been foı a considerable time the seat of *faujdārs* under the Gujarat Sultans. A number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions from this place have been removed to the State Museum, Junagarh.

[3] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 23.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else alongwith God. In the reign of the great King, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā

(2) wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, the building of this mosque was constructed by the brother of Malik

(3) 'Aṭā, (viz.) Ṭāhir .... towards the mercy of........... son of...........
This was completed on the 24th (?) of the month of Ramaḍān, 839 (?) (A.H.=11th Apr. 1436 A.D.).

The *Corpus* reads the name of the builder as ' Malik Husain Muzaffar Hussani ' and the date as ' Rabī II of the year 834 A.H.' [1]

V.—FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The city of Wadhwan, District Jhalawad, is situated on the northern branch of the Bhogavo river and is one of the most ancient places in Saurashtra.[2] It is an intermediate station on the Bhavnagar-Surendranagar branch of the Western Rly.

In the principal mosque of the city—a small building without much architectural beauty—that seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time are to be found three inscriptions. The one over the central *miḥrāb* belongs to the reign of Aḥmad Shāh's son and successor, Muḥammad Shāh, when this mosque was constructed. The other two are fixed into the east wall, to the left of the doorway, immediately above a platform of brick and mortar covered with plaster—a later addition, of course—occupying the southern end of the *ṣaḥn* of the mosque. These two inscriptions were lying loose formerly,[3] but were probably fixed up in their present place when the platform was constructed. Whether these two inscriptions belonged to the same mosque or not is not certain, but the better preserved of the two, one that is being studied here, is said to have ' originally belonged to a mosque within the Darbār enclosure but now used for a granary'.[4]

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, it has the date *Sursan* 840 corresponding to A.D. 1439, and mentions that the builder of the mosque was Malik Muhammad bin Malik Musa.........[5] This statement, accepted and quoted by Professor Commissariat[6] is wrong in two places : firstly, the date of the epigraph is 842 and not *Sursan* 840 ; secondly, the name of the builder is Malik Shaikhan.

The present inscriptional slab measures 2'2" by 1'2" and is of black polished stone. The record states that during the reign of Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, a mosque was constructed by Malik Shaikhan, son of Malik Mūsā, on the 20th of Sha'bān 842 A.H. (1439 A.D.). The language of the epigraph, except that of the religious text which is in Arabic, is Persian. It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول] الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

---

[1] P. 23.

[2] For a detailed account of the city and its history, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 691-701 ; Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 123-25.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 693.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 693. The other inscription, not *in situ*, is too damaged now to admit of any decipherment.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Opp. cit.*, p. 123.

(۳) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا

(۴) لله تعالی بنی الله له قصرا فی الجنة در عهد دولت سلیمان جاه افضل السلاطین ناصر الدنیا و الدین

(۵) ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بانی مسجد ملک شیخن بن ملک موسی فی العشرین من شعبان سنه اثنی و اربعین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but God ; Muḥammad is the prophet of God.

(2) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(3) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Says the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be on him : He who builds a mosque

(4) for God the Exalted, God builds for him a palace in Paradise. During the reign of Solomon in dignity, the most accomplished of kings, Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn

(5) Abū'l Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, the builder of this mosque (is) Malik Shaikhan, son of Malik Mūsā. On the 20th of Sha'bān, year eight hundred and forty-two (A.H.=5th Feb. 1439 A.D.).

VI.—INSCRIPTION NOW STORED IN THE RECORD OFFICE, MANGROL

The last inscription of Aḥmad Shāh comes from Mangrol. It is said to have been originally built up in the wall near the Gādī gate[1] which no longer exists. It consists of thirteen lines of Persian prose, inscribed on a slab of yellow sandstone (2′ by 11″) in *Naskh* characters of a pleasing type ; small decorative motifs comprising geometrical and foliage designs are embossed in the first five lines. The language of the epigraph is, however, of an inferior type and not very clear. The epigraph is damaged in certain places especially in the last line containing the date. It records an order issued in the reign of Aḥmad I, by Prince Fatḥ Khān, prohibiting certain illegal practices enjoined by the local authorities.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

(۱) در عهد بادشاه روی زمین ناصر

(۲) الدنیا و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه سلطا[ن]

(۳) که احداث نامشروع از وقت کفار باز در

(۴) قصبهٔ منگلور وجه مردار کشی بنام بعضی ....

(۵) تعین بود چون شاهزاده [ا]عظم فتحخان مد الله عمره

(۶) برای فتح قلعهٔ گرنال عزیمت فرمودند کیفیت

[1] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 56.

(۷) احداث مذکور ملک علاء سهراب و صوفی رکن

(۸) و همیر هرراج و جیسا سیتهه قصبه با مهاجن معزز ؟

(۹) در سمع بندگی خان اعظم باز نمودند اشارت

(۱۰) شد تا بروفق التماس کارکنان پروانه

(۱۱) [کرده] دهند تا بعد ازین تاریخ در گرد اینچنین

(۱۲) نامشروع نگردند بر حکم پروانه روند فی

(۱۳) الرابع عشر من ؟ شهر ربیع الاخر سنه [خمس اربعین ؟] ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) (It was) in the reign of the King of the surface of the earth, Nāṣir-

(2) u'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, the King,

(3) that the innovation of illegal (practices) of the time of the infidels (were) again (prevalent) in

(4) the town of Manglor, (for example) the levy of removing the carrion of animal was fixed in the name of certain...............

(5) When the great Prince Fatḥ Khān, may God grant him a long life,

(6-9) started for the conquest of the fort of Girnāl,[1] Malik 'Alā-i-Suhrāb, Ṣūfī Rukn, Hamīr Har Rāj and Jaisā, *Seth* of the town, with other *Mahājan* narrated the acount of the said innovation. An order

(10) was issued to the effect that in accordance with the request, the officers should issue a *parwāna*

(11) so that henceforth they should not observe such an

(12) illegal (practice) and should abide by the order of the *parwāna*. On

(13) the 14th (?) of the month of Rabī' II, year forty-five (?) and eight hundred (1st Sep. 1441 A.D.).

The inscription, as has been already stated, does not belong to the Mughul period as is mentioned in the *Corpus*, but to the reign of Sultan Aḥmad I. The last line is too much obliterated to admit of a final reading. However, there can be no doubt about the words ثمانمایه at the end. As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, 'Alā-i-Suhrāb is perhaps the same 'Alā, son of Suhrāb who some years later figured prominently in the history of Gujarat. He was *thānadār* of Sultanpur, and when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa attacked that town in the course of his expedition to Gujarat, he surrendered after some fight. However, when Maḥmūd Khaljī reached Kapadvanj, 'Alā-i-Suhrāb fled to Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad II, the then Gujarat Sultan, who conferred upon him the title of 'Alāu'l Mulk. Later on, he received the title of Ulugh Khān.[2] About other personages mentioned in the inscription we possess no information.

The epigraph is historically important. It has been referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*,[3] but Prof. Commissariat who has also utilised the *Corpus* does not refer to it, having been perhaps misled by the wrong interpretation given in that book. The expedition to Girnar led by Prince Fatḥ Khān which none of the extant works on Gujarat history mentions, is referred to in this unique record and as such its importance is considerable despite the fact that no details regard-

[1] It is significant that no mention of the name Junagarh is made.

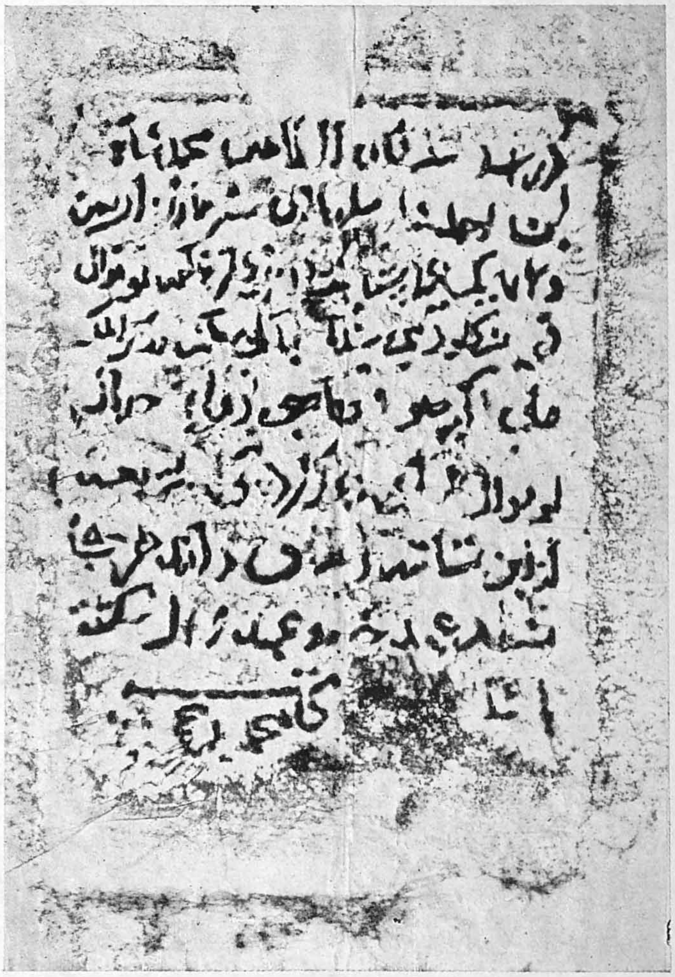
[2] *M.S.*, pp. 51, 57, 70; Ḥājī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih*, pp. 4, 5, 10.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 544.

(*a*) From the Record Office, Mangrol

Scale : ·24

(*b*) From the same place



Scale : ·33

ing its result or consequence are forthcoming. As regards Prince Fatḥ Khān also, historical works do not afford us much help. The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* mentions one Prince Hūshang Fatḥ Khān, an uncle of Sultan Aḥmad I,[1] while the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishta mention Prince Fatḥ Khān, a son of the Sultan in connection with his marriage with the daughter of the chief of Mahim in about 836 A.H.[2] This latter is perhaps the Prince mentioned in the present epigraph. A very interesting piece of information that emerges out of this inscription is the mention of the names of Hamīr Har Rāj and Jaisā, the *Seth* of the town, and also of the *mahājan*. The *mahājan* of the towns—a body of respectable and leading persons mostly belonging to the trading and business community has been always voicing local grievances on behalf of the public. Even today, the *mahājan* is a powerful body in many a town and village of Gujarat including Saurashtra.

Muhammad Shah II

Aḥmad Shāh was succeeded, on his death in 846 A.H., by his eldest son, who ascended the throne with the titles Abū'l Maḥāmid Ghiyāthu'd Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. He died in 855 A.H.

VII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE RECORD OFFICE AT MANGROL

This inscription is carved in relief on a yellow sandstone measuring 1′6″ by 1′1″ which is now lying in the Record Office. This inscription is not noticed so far and the Record Office does not have any record regarding its findspot. The epigraph has greatly suffered from the weather and sea-climate, which fact is mainly responsible for its letters having been effaced. It consists of nine lines in Persian prose and is inscribed in *Naskh*. It seems to record the remission of some levy or tax, but which one is not clear. It does not begin with the usual *Bismillāh* nor does it contain any regal titles of the king ; the benedictory pharses are also absent in the epigraph. It however contains the name of the scribe, a practice not so commonly followed in the inscriptions of Gujarat. It may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

(١) در عهد سلطان السلاطين محمد شاه

(٢) ابن احمد شاه سلطان سنه ثمان و اربعين

(٣) و ثمانمايه .... كوتوال

(٤) قصبهٔ منگلور مى ستد .... ملك معز الملك ؟

(٥) على اكبر صوفى و قاضى زين ا[بن ا]حمد ؟ از

(٦) كوتوال ... دور ؟ كرده و گذاشته بعد

(٧) ازين نستانند و معاف دانند هر گاه

(٨) ستانند عهد خدا و عهد رسول شكسته

(٩) باشند كاتب

(١٠) محمد بن ....

[1] *M.S.*, p. 64.

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Nawalkishore), I, p. 189 ; *Ṭabaqāt*, III, p. 122. The *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, pp. 516-17 gives a popular account of Fatḥ Khān's governorship of Mangrol, his being displeased with his father, his going into outlawry, his coming to Bhadrod with his five wives, etc., but does not quote the source.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Muḥammad S͟hāh,

(2) son of Aḥmad S͟hāh, the King, (in) the year forty-eight

(3) and eight hundred (1444-45 A.D)....................*Kūtwāl*

(4) of the town of Manglor......took................Malik Mu'izzu'l Mulk

(5) 'Alī Akbar Ṣūfī and Qāḍī Zain, son of Aḥmad against

(6) the *Kūtwāl*..................removed and remitted. After

(7) this, they should not demand (it) and should deem (it) remitted. If

(8-9) they demand, they will (incur the sin of) having violated the pledge of God and the pledge of His Prophet. The writer

(10) (is) Muḥammad, son of ....

The persons mentioned in the epigraph, 'Alī Akbar Ṣūfī and Qāḍī Zain do not find any mention in the historical works of Gujarat accessible to us ; they appear to have been men of at least local importance.

VIII.—FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, WADHWAN CITY

The other inscription of Muḥammad S͟hāh is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' Mosque, as has been already referred to.[1] It is executed in fine *Nask͟h* characters with a *Ṭug͟hrā* flourish. It comprises three lines in Arabic and mentions the construction of the mosque in 851 A.H., during the reign of G͟hiyāt͟hu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh by Maliku's͟h S͟harq Malik Sa'du'l Mulk Mubārak Hilāl Sulṭānī.[2] We have no information regarding the latter, who must have occupied a prominent position ; it is possible that at this period he might have held this region—Jhalawad—in his fief.

The inscriptional slab measures 2′11″ by 11″.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال
النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنا مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له

(۲) قصرا فى الجنة بنا هذه العمارة المسجد الشريفه فى زمان السلطان الاعظم المعظم
غياث الدنيا و الدين محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(۳) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ملك الشرق سعد الملك مبارك هلال سلطانى طلبا لغفرانه
و نيلا لمرضاته فى السنه من الهجرة الحادى و خمسين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Says God the Exalted : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. Says the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be on him : He who builds a mosque for God the Exalted, God builds for him

[1] See inscription V above.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 693, while referring to this inscription states that it 'is dated *Sursan* 849 corresponding to A.D. 1448 in the reign of Sultan Muhammad II G͟hias-ud-Dunya-wad-din son of Sultan Ahmad I'. Needless to say, the date is wrong.

(a) Over the central miḥrāb, Jāmiʿ Mosque, Wadhwan City

Scale : ·23

(b) Over the central miḥrāb, Chāndanī Mosque, Patan (Somnath)

Scale : ·33

(2) a palace in Paradise. This august mosque was constructed during the reign of the great and magnificent King, G͟hiyāt͟hu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Muḥammad S͟hāh, son of Aḥmad S͟hāh, son of Muḥammad S͟hāh, son of Muẓaffar S͟hāh, the King,

(3) may God perpetuate his kindgom and sovereignty, by Maliku's͟h S͟harq Sa'du'l Mulk Mubārak Hilāl Sulṭānī, by way of seeking His pardon and obtaining His pleasure in the Hijra year 851.

Qutbu'd Din Ahmad II

Prince Jalāl K͟hān, eldest son of Muḥammad S͟hāh ascended the throne on 11th Muḥarram 855 A.H., under the title of Quṭbu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Aḥmad S͟hāh. He died, after a reign of seven years and a few months, in 862 A.H.

IX.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE C͟HĀNDANĪ MOSQUE, PATAN

The C͟hāndanī mosque, situated in the western quarter of Patan, is a low-roofed building of stone, with one prayer-hall consisting of two rows of arches supporting the roof, and a courtyard enclosed on three sides by small cloisters. Over its central prayer niche is fixed a slab of white marble (27″ by 9″) containing the following inscription of three lines written in *Nask͟h*. The slab is small in size as compared with the text of the inscription it had to contain. Moreover, the engraver has devoted the whole of the first line to the famous Quranic verse and tradition, leaving considerable space between their letters, as a result of which the letters in the next two lines had to be made smaller and written one upon another. The perpendicular strokes of the letters in the second and the third lines are prolonged upwards and arranged at equal distance so as to present a picture of railing. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque in 860 A.H., by one S͟hams bin Ṣadr al-Qurais͟hī al-Balk͟hī, during the reign of Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad S͟hāh.[1] It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(۱) قال الله تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو[ا] مع الله احد[ا] قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بناء (*sic.*) مسجدا بنی الله تعالی فی الجنة قصرا

(۲) عمارت این مسجد بعهد همایون شاه اعظم المعظم الواثق بتائید الرحمن قطب الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بنده ضعیف النحیف الراجی الی رحمة الله الحنان المنان شمس بن صدر بن شمس بن ....

(۳) القریشی البلخی المعروف بملک بده کرد و این مسجد بسعی بندۂ امیدوار برحمت پرودگار مجاهد ؟ بن شمس مذکور تا هرکه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد برای عاقبت خیر و ثباتی ایمان این گناه گاران بانی و ساعی مسجد مذکور یاد آرند تا موجب ثواب و ثمرات دو جهانی گردند بتاریخ هفدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره من شهور سنه ستین و ثمانمایه و کاتبه اضعف العباد فضل الله بن ابراهیم بن عمر امام مسجد مذکور[2]

[1] The text given in the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 25, reads the date as 866 ; the footnote on the same page says that the reigning Sultan of Gujarat at the time was Mahmud Begra and not Ahmad Shah II.

[2] The reading of the words after 'Umar is doubtful.

TRANSLATION

(1) God says : And verily, the mosques are for God only ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. The Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be upon him says : He who builds a mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in Paradise.

(2) The construction of this mosque was effected during the auspicious reign of the great and magnificent King, who is confident of the help of the Merciful, Quṭbu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, by the weak and infirm slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Merciful, the Benificent, Shams, son of Ṣadr, son of Shams, son of............

(3) al-Quraishī al-Balkhī, known as Malik Budh, through the endeavours of the slave, hopeful of the mercy of God, Mujāhid (?), son of the said Shams, with the hope that whoever offers prayers in this mosque will recite (prayers) for the good end and steadfastedness of the Faith of these two sinful persons viz., the builder and the endeavourer, thus becoming the cause of their reward and recompense in both the worlds. On the 17th day of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the *Shuhūr San* 860 A.H. (21st June 1456 A.D.). Its writer is the weakest of the creatures of God, Faḍlu'llāh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of 'Umar, the *imām* of the said mosque.

Nothing is known regarding the builder of the mosque who, as his popular epithet suggests, seems to have been a man of importance. He may have been one of those foreigners—merchants, scholars, saints and adventurers who visited and settled in Gujarat during the period of the Sultanate.

Mahmud I

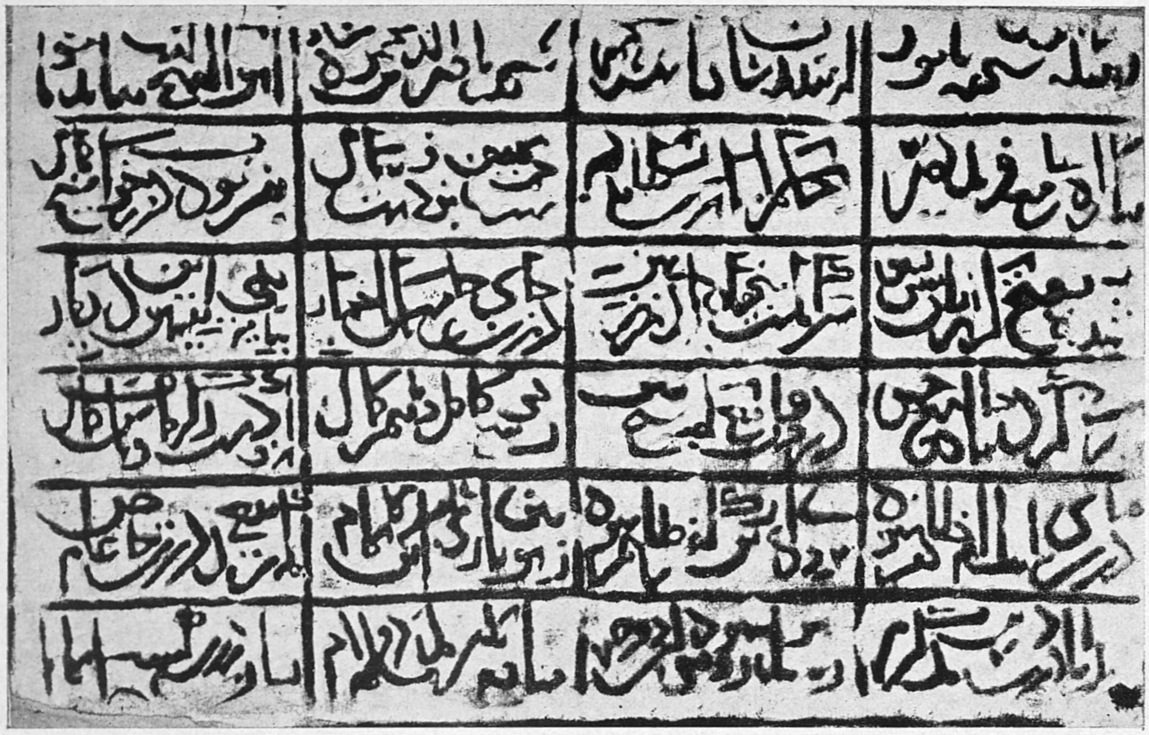
Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad Shāh left no son and was succeeded first by Dā'ūd Shāh and later by his brother Fatḥ Khān who under his royal name Maḥmūd I has gone down in the history of Gujarat as the most illustrious ruler of his line. He ascended the throne in 862 A.H., at the age of thirteen and 'reigned for the next fifty four years in uninterrupted glory and prosperity. Himself a great patron of architecture, there is hardly a monument of Muslim art in the country which popular legend does not connect with his name'. The two strongholds of Junagarh and Champaner which had managed to survive the attacks of Aḥmad Shāh I fell before his arms and were incorporated with the crown territories. He died in 917 A.H. and was succeeded by his son, Prince Khalīl Khān.

X.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

This inscription of Maḥmūd is from the Borwād mosque, Junagarh. It is inscribed on a slab of white marble (11½" by 7") which is fixed over the left of the three prayer niches in the west wall ; the central prayer-niche has another inscription fixed over it, recording the erection of the Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar II in 920 A.H. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the present inscription is *in situ*. We know that Maḥmūd had finally conquered Junagarh in 875 A.H. or 1470 A.D., after which he invited holy Saiyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence there. He renamed the city as Muṣṭafābād. The extensive fortification which encloses both the Uparkot and the city of Junagarh constructed by him, remains even today in almost perfect condition. Another monument belonging to the rule of Maḥmūd I at Junagarh is the large mosque which stands on the crest of the Uparkot.[1] This mosque is now in a deserted condition and bears no epigraph. Can it be that the inscription under notice originally belonged to the mosque in Uparkot said to have been constructed by Maḥmūd ?

[1] Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 168, 169, 170.

(*a*) Over the left miḥrāb, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh



Scale: ·54

(*b*) Over the central miḥrāb, Nagīna Mosque, Veraval

Scale: ·16

The inscriptional tablet is divided into six lines, each line having been further cut into four panels. Each panel contains a hemistich. The epigraph thus comprises twelve verses in Persian,[1] and records the construction of a Jāmi‘ mosque during Maḥmūd's reign. The too limited space for the text of an epigraph of twelve verses necessitated the proportionate smallness of letters ; the style of writing is *Naskh* of an intricate type. These and the slightly damaged nature of the epigraph have rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. It is obvious therefore that the reading given below is not final. Any suggestions likely to improve the reading will be most welcome.

It has been rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (*a*)

(۱)	بعهد همـــايون شه نامور	که بندند شاهان پیشش کمر
	شهی ناصر الدین محمود شاه	ابو الفتح کنیت بتابد چو ما[ه]
(۲)	بنا کرد جامع فرید	بحکم ....
	سنه خمس و سبعین؟ بودست سال	بفرمود در خواب شیخ کمال
(۳)	شده ... فتح گرنار دربس سنین؟	سرکهانت بنهـــاد اندر زمین
	درین جای جامع بکن اختیار	بنـــای ... تقی شود این دیار
(۴)	زهی کرد بنیـــاد جامع چنین	درون فاتحے ؟ گفت شیخ معین
	زهی ش[یخ] کامل وشهی با؟ کمال	کز و دست ...... و پاس کمال
(۵)	درین جای اسلام ظاهر شود	بزودی ازین کفر طایر شود
	ز توفیق باری شده این تمام	بگیرند نفعی درین خاص عام
(۶)	خدایا درین در نشاید گزند ؟	... زو شود خوبی این دو چند ؟
	منـــافع بگیرند مسلم دوام	بشارت درین گشته حاصل تمام

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of the illustrious monarch, before whom the (other) kings gird up their loins

(viz.) the king Nāṣiru'd Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh with the *kunyat* Abū'l Fatḥ, shining like moon,

(2) ....constructed a Jāmi‘ mosque by the orders of..........

It was the year (eight hundred ?) and seventy-five (?) that Shaikh Kamāl ordered (its erection) in dream.

(3) Girnār was conquered after many years ; the head of the *Khānts*[2] was placed under the earth.

In this place a Jāmi‘ mosque be constructed .... this country may become pious.

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[1] The inscriptions of Gujarat Sultans published so far are all in prose. A few inscriptions of Ẓafar Khān (Muẓaffar I) in verse, most of them of his pre-kingship period, have been found by me after these lines were written ; none of them is published so far.

[2] For *Khānts* who dwelt in Girnar hills, see *M.S.*, p. 90 ; Bayley, *Hist. of Guj.*, pp. 35n, 181.

(4) Bravo ! he constructed such a Jāmi' mosque ; in it the helping Shaikh recited *Fātiḥa*.

Bravo for the perfect Shaikh and also for the perfect king from whom..............perfect regard.

(5) In this region Islām will prosper and within no time Infidelity will disappear.

Through the grace of the Almighty this was completed ; high and low alike will derive benefit from it.

(6) O God ! let there be no harm to this abode, (and) may its beauty be two-fold.

The Muslims will for ever derive benefit—such is the good news augured.

XI.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE NAGĪNA MASJID, VERAVAL

The slab of white marble (3′7″ by 1′6″), which bears the following inscription in Arabic, is fixed over the central prayer niche of a mosque in the Port area, near the Bank of India building, at Veraval. The present mosque, a modern structure known as Nagīna masjid, is constructed on the site of an old mosque to which this inscription is stated to have originally belonged. It is cut into three horizontal panels, each panel containing a line. The epigraph records the erection of the mosque by Abū'l Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh in 893 A.H. (1488 A.D.).

The inscription is badly damaged;[1] letters have disappeared in several places while in some they have become indistinct. The style of writing is *Thulth* with *Ṭughrā* flourish of a fair type.

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

(۱) .... انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر و اقام الصلوة و آتی الذکوة و لم یخش الا الله فعسی اولیک ان یکونوا من المهتدین و قال ...... صلی الله علیه ....

(۲) .... فی الجنة ...... اعمل هذا المسجد الشریف عالیحضرت السلطان الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن

(۳) .... السلطان خلد الله ملکه و ذلک بنظر ؟ خادم الدرگاه العلیه محمد بن حاجی علی بن محمد الگیلانی فرحمه الله تم البنیاد ؟ فی تاریخ عاشر من شهر ربیع الاخر سنه ثلث و تسعین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) ....The mosques of God shall be visited by such as believe in God and the Last Day, establish regular prayers, and practise regular charity, and fear none (at all) except God. It is they who are expected to be on true guidance. And says................may God's blessings and salutations be upon him...................

(2) ....in paradise................This noble mosque was constructed by His Majesty the great King, Lord of the nations, Abū'l Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of

[1] The slab seems to have lost a bit of its right portion.

(3) .... the King, may God perpetuate his kingdom. And this was constructed under the superintendence of the servant of the lofty court, Muḥammad, son of Ḥājī 'Alī, son of Muḥammad al-Gīlānī, may God have mercy on him. Finished on the 10th day of the month of Rabī ' II, year three and ninety and eight hundred (i.e., 893 A.H.=24th March 1488 A.D.).

Muzaffar Shah II

Prince Khalīl Khān succeeded his father on 3rd Ramaḍān 917 A.H., with the titles Abū'n Naṣr Shamsu'd Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh. He is acknowledged as the most cultured and talented of the Gujarat Sultans. He died in 932 A.H.

XII.—FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE, JUNAGARH

The following inscription is engraved in relief on a slab of white marble, measuring 2′ by 1′6″, fixed over the central prayer niche—a piece of exquisite design and beautiful workmanship—of the Borwād mosque. It mentions the construction of a Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh, by Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khawwāṣ Khān. It bears the date 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and is inscribed in *Naskh*. The language is Arabic and, unlike the language generally employed in inscriptions, free from mistakes.

It has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله

(٢) احدا و قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له سبعین قصرا

(٣) فی الجنة بنی العبد الضعیف الـــراجی الی رحمة الله السبحان بهاء ابن مرجـــان المخاطب بخان

(٤) اعظم خواصخان غفر الله له و لجمیع المسلمین هذا المسجد الجامع فی عصر السلطان المويد بتائید الرحمن

(٥) المستنصر بالله المنـــان شمس الدنیا و الدین ابی النصر مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد ملکه

(٦) و فوض بذله و ذلک البناء بقلعهٔ گرنار الموسوم بمصطفی اد فی التاریخ الهجریه

(٧) الرابع عشر من شهر ذی القعد سنه عشرین و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not with God

(2) anyone else. And the Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be upon him, says : He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him seventy palaces

(3) in Paradise. The weak slave, hopeful of the mercy of God the Glorified, Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khān-i-A'ẓam

(4) Khawwāṣ Khān, may God pardon him and all the Muslims, constructed this Jāmi' mosque during the reign of the King, who is assisted by the aid of the All Merciful,

(5) seeker of the help of God the Benevolent, Shamsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abī'n Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the King, may his kingdom last for ever

(6) and his generosity be showered upon (every one). And this building was constructed at the 'Fort of Girnār' named as Muṣṭafābād in the Hijra date,

(7) viz., 14th of the month of Dhī'l Qa'd, year nine hundred and twenty (31st Dec. 1514 A.D.).

This inscription is the only epigraphical record in Junagarh, which bears the name Muṣṭafābād given to it by Maḥmūd I. It is significant to note that the name Junagarh does not occur in this or the other inscriptions at this place and the name قلعهٔ گرنار of Persian histories is given instead.

About the builder of the mosque, Bahā, son of Marjān, entitled Khān-i-A'ẓam Khawwāṣ Khān, histories are completely silent. There was one Marjān Sulṭānī, a noble during Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad's reign, who was in charge of Broach when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa invaded Gujarat.[1] He is mentioned in an inscription from Broach as having held the title of Khawwāṣu'l Mulk.[2] It is not unlikely that Bahā bin Marjān of our inscription may have been a son of Marjān Sulṭānī: the title Khawwāṣ Khān held by him also points to this probablity. From the inscription, Bahā bin Marjān would appear to have been connected with Junagarh in some authoritative capacity. It may, however, be pointed out that Malik Ayāz, one of the most notable amirs and a great general of his time is mentioned in Persian histories as having held charge of Junagarh and Diu for a number of years since the days of Maḥmūd I until his death in 928 A.H.[3] It is surprising to find that Malik Ayāz who was held in great esteem by Maḥmūd I and his son Muẓaffar II and who was celebrated alike for his bravery, skill and hospitality is mentioned in historical works without any title,[4] when almost every noble of this period is mentioned by these writers with his respective title. Khawwāṣ Khān Khān-i-A'ẓam are titles which speak of the great position Bahā must have held in 920 A.H. Whether he has anything to do with Ayāz is not possible for us to say, but the presence of such a great noble in or about Junagarh, when Malik Ayāz was in charge of that place and Diu, requires satisfactory explanation.

XIII.—OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BORWĀD MOSQUE

There are two small but very interesting epigraphs incised on each of the upper corners of the central prayer niche referred to above. Though their writing is of a crude type of *Naskh*, quite different from that of the preceding epigraph, they are nevertheless contemporaneous with it. These small epigraphs, supplying us the names of the sculptors who were employed for carving out the niche, have preserved for us a rare, if not unique, record of a couple of the many Hindu sculptor-masters who were, it seems, generally employed to execute, even in religious buildings, the sculptural and carving work requiring elaborate design and perfect workmanship. The epigraphs were probably carved by the sculptors themselves who were naturally anxious to leave their names to posterity and this would explain the crude nature of the style of writing. Another interesting information gleaned out of these inscriptions is that the engraver of the inscription and the composer of it were not the same person. The engraving and composing were sometimes done by two different persons. In this particular case, the sculptor who executed the *miḥrāb*, the one who engraved the main inscription (no. XII) and the one who wrote it for the engraver to copy it out on the stone, are three different persons, the first two being Hindu sculptors and the last being the *imām* of the mosque.

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[1] *M.S.*, p. 51 ; H.D., *opp. cit.*, p. 4.
[2] *E.I.M.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 29.
[3] *M.S.*, pp. 117, 129-31, 159-62 ; H.D., *opp. cit.*, pp. 37, 38, 113, 117.
[4] H.D., *opp. cit.*, p. 37, simply calls him Malik Ayāz Khāṣṣ Sulṭānī.

The first of these epigraphs occupies about 8″ by 4½″ space while the other 4½″ by 4″. They are as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(a)

راست کنانید سنگ تاریخ مسجد ؟
هذا سنگتراش راده بن ......
زمین موضع اومراله
بندگی خان اعظم
خواصخان دهانیده
شده زمین انعامی ؟
کاتب حروف
سید میران نور
امام مسجد جامع

(b)

سنگتراش
نربد تاهیا ؟
راست کننده
محراب مسجد
جامع

TRANSLATION

(a) This tablet bearing the date was executed by the stone-carver, Rādh, son of........... the land in the village of Ūmarāla has been granted to him by the great Khān Khawwāṣ Khān. The *in'āmī* land (is allotted to ?) the writer of the text, Sayyid Mīrān Nūr, *imām* of the Jāmi' Mosque.

(b) Sculptor
Narbad Tāhyā ?
the executor of
the *miḥrāb* of the
Jāmi' mosque.

XIV.—FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE AT RANPUR, DISTRICT AHMADABAD

Ranpur, a town in the Dhandhuka sub-division of Ahmadabad District, is situated on the north bank of the river Bhādar at a distance of about 18 miles, by road, to the west of Dhandhuka. As one of the posts on the border land between Gujarat and Saurashtra, it has been in the past a place of considerable historical interest. On the raised strip of land between the south bank of the river Bhadar and the river Guma, lies 'the chief ornament of the town, a fine old fort' now partly in ruins. The fort with the mosque and a bath with a cellar and underground passage inside, and a well to the east of the town with the remains of a garden, bear Persian inscriptions of Shāh Jahān's reign recording their construction by A'ẓam Khān.[1] Two more inscriptions of the Sultanate period, one belonging to Muẓaffar II and the other to his son Sultan Bahādur, are also to be found in this town ; they were first noticed by me during my recent visit to that place. The inscription of Muẓaffar Shāh is inscribed in six lines on a slab of white marble (1′10″ by 1′5½″) which has broken into two pieces now lying loose in the principal mosque of the town. It is reported by local people to have been removed from an old ruined mosque with one minaret. Almost the whole

[1] For A'ẓam Khān's achievements in this part, see *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* (Baroda ed.), I, pp. 210-16. The inscriptions have been noticed in *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 44-46, and also in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, (Bombay, 1897), pp. 87-88.

of the inscription is worn out and the letters which were originally embossed in relief, are much effaced. It records the erection of a Jāmi‘ mosque during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II in 931 A.H. by Malik Dāwaru'l Mulk. The style of writing is *Naskh*. It may be rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله

(۲) فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له قصرا

(۳) فى الجنة اين مسجد جامع بنا كرده حضرت خان عالى ؟ خطاب ملك الشرق ملك

(۴) داور ملك مد الله عمره و دولته الشريفه در عهد المويد بتائيد الرحمن شمس الدنيا و الدين

(۵) ابو [النصر] مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(٦) كار فرماى ... كمال بن داود بن بدر ؟ ... فى سنه احدى ثلاثين و تسعمايه اربع عشر شمسيه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ;

(2) therefore, invoke not anyone else with God. Says (the Prophet), on him be peace : He who builds a mosque for God, God builds for him a palace

(3) in Paradise. This Jāmi‘ mosque was constructed by the Khān of lofty title, Maliku'sh Sharq, Malik

(4) Dāwar Mulk, may God prolong his life and good fortune, during the reign of the one who is supported by God, Shāmsu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn

(5) Abū'n (Naṣr) Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King.

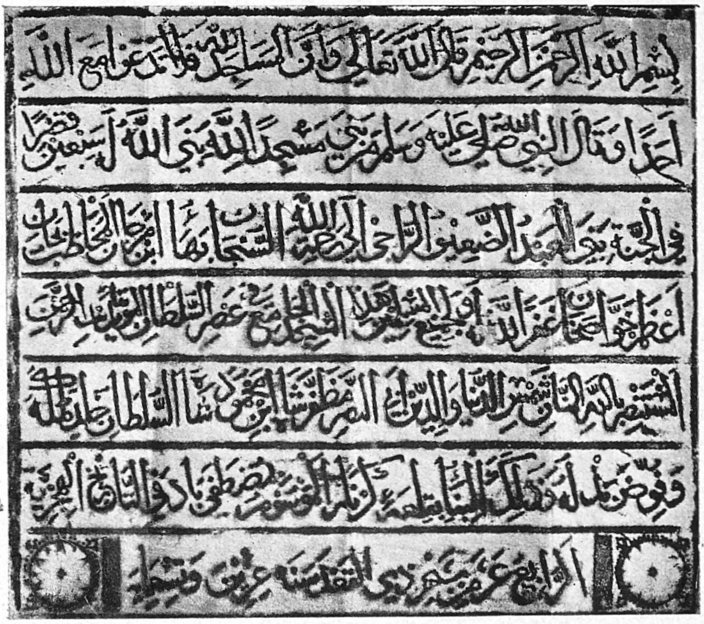
(6) The superintendent ....Kamāl, son of Dā'ūd, son of Badr (?) .... in the year thirty-one and nine hundred, fourteen *Shamsiyya* i. e., *Shamsī* year 14 (1524-25 A.D.).

In the list of the Gujarat nobility, preserved in the pages of the historical works on Gujarat, we find the title Dāwaru'l Mulk enjoyed by two persons at two different periods. The first to enjoy this title was Malik ‘Abdu'l Laṭīf bin Maḥmūd al-Quraishī who was a great noble, no less a saint, of Maḥmūd I's reign. He died in 889 A.H.,[1] long before the date of the present epigraph. The other noble mentioned with this title is Malik Dāwaru'l Mulk, regarding whom the information in the *Mir'āt* is scanty. Among the nobles who joined Bahādur on his arrival in Gujarat, after deserting ‘Imādu'l Mulk, the murderer of Sultan Sikandar, were Bahāu'l Mulk and Dāwaru'l Mulk, who were sworn allies of ‘Imādu'l Mulk and accessories in the murder. Bahādur, for the time being, connived at their offence, but after a short time, ordered Dāwaru'l Mulk to be beheaded in 932 A.H., alongwith Ulugh Khān and Qaiṣar Khān.[2] Firishta says that Bahādur was informed that Ulugh Khān and Qaiṣar Khān who were associated with ‘Imādu'l Mulk in the murder of the

[1] For a detailed account of his career, see *M.S.*, pp. 126-129; Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 217-19.

[2] *M.S.*, pp. 328, 334-35.

(*a*) Over the central miḥrāb, Borwad Mosque, Junagarh



Scale : ·154

(*b*) On the top corners of the central miḥrāb, same mosque

Scale : ·33

Scale : ·31

(*c*) Lying in the Jāmiʻ Mosque, Ranpur

Scale : ·25

late Sultan were then plotting against him and carrying on secret correspondence with Laṭīf Khān. When these two nobles came to pay usual homage next day, they were ordered to be put under arrest. During those very days, Dāwaru'l Mulk who had left the city on some pretext, was arrested.[1] This Dāwaru'l Mulk is likely to be the same as one mentioned in our inscription.

It will be seen that the epigraph bears the words شمسيه at the end. In another inscription of the same king, which is found on Rānī Sabrā'ī's mosque inside Astodia gate at Ahmadabad, a similar expression viz., اربع شمسيه precedes the actual date.[2] Dr. Chaghtai who is the latest to re-edit that inscription reads it as اربع شهور سنه شمسيه translating it as 'the fourth month of the solar year.[3] Blochmann had more correctly translated it as 'the fourth solar (regnal) year'.[4] Personally I think, the word شمسيه does not connote the usual meaning 'solar' and it would be more correct to translate it as '4th *Shamsī* (i.e. Shamsu'd Dīn's regnal) year'. This innovation of the mention of regnal year in inscriptions, which had become so popular and common under the Mughuls is, to the best of my knowledge, found only in the inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh, and of no other Sultan of Gujarat.

Bahadur Shah

Sultan Muẓaffar was succeeded by his son Sikandar who was killed soon after his accession, on 14th Sha'bān 932 A.H. Bahādur Shāh being away from Gujarat at that time, 'Imādu'l Mulk, who had perpetrated the murder of Sultan Sikandar raised a younger son of Muẓaffar, Naṣīr Khān by name, to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd II. However, on Bahādur's arrival on the scene, most of the nobles joined him and he ascended the throne on 26th Ramaḍān 932 A.H. A man of great intrepidity and courage, under whom the borders of Gujarat were extended far and wide on all sides, he met with a tragic end at the hands of the Portuguese at Diu on 3rd Ramaḍān 943 A.H.

XV.—INSCRIPTION ON THE NĪLAM TOPE IN UPARKOT, JUNAGARH

Immediately after Bahādur's death, Sulaimān Pāshā had arrived with a large fleet to Diu from Egypt in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.), with a view to drive out the Portuguese who were daily gaining ground and at whose hands Bahādur had suffered death. However, he sailed back within a short time after an unsuccessful seige of the fort of Diu, leaving behind him the heavy *Sulaimānī* guns.[5] Two magnificent specimens of these guns, which were cast in Egypt during the reign of Sultān Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey, may still be seen within the walls of the Uparkot citadel at Junagarh. One of these, called the Nīlam Tope, is placed in front of the mosque near the fortification wall. It is seventeen feet long with a circumference of seven feet and a half at the breach and measures at the muzzle nine and a half inches in diameter. It bears the following inscriptions in Arabic, executed in relief in beautiful *Thulth* characters in *Ṭughrā* fashion which affords us an example of the style of writing vogue at this period outside India. One mentions the casting of the cannon in Egypt ordered by Sulṭān Sulaimān bin Salīm to fight the Portuguese desirous of entering India who have been termed as 'enemy of state and religion', and the other gives the name of the caster as 'Muḥammad bin Ḥamza'.

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1 *Opp. cit.*, pp. 214, 215, 216.
2 *Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 292.
3 *Opp. cit.*, p. 74.
4 *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 292.
5 Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 407-8 ; H.D., *opp. cit.*, p. 443 referring to Surat guns calls them *Salmānī* guns.

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) امر بعمل هذه المکحله فی سبیل الله تعالی سلطان العرب و العجم

(۲) سلطان سلیمان بن سلیم خان عز نصره لقهر اعدآ الدولة و الدین الکفار

(۳) الداخلین ببلاد الهند برتقال اللعین فی محروسه مصر سنه ۹۳۷

عمل محمد بن حمزه

TRANSLATION

(1) This cannon was ordered to be made, in the cause of God, by the king of 'Arab and 'Ajam,

(2) Sulṭān Sulaimān, son of Salīm Khān, may he be victorious, in order to subdue the enemy of state and religion, the infidels,

(3) who wish to enter India, (that is to say) the cursed Portuguese. In the metropolis of Egypt, year 937 (A.H.=1530-31 A.D.).

Cast by Muḥammad, son of Ḥamza.

XVI.—INSCRIPTION ON THE KADĀNĀL TOPE IN THE SAME CITADEL

The other gun, called locally as Kadānāl or Chudānāl, is located in the south-east corner of the citadel adjoining the water works. It is thirteen feet long and has a muzzle fourteen inches in diameter. It bears only the name of the caster executed in relief in *Naskh* of a crude type which is in striking contrast to the one just described above.

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

علی بن صرجه

TRANSLATION

'Alī, son of Ṣarja.[1]

XVII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE BOHRA'S MOSQUE, RANPUR

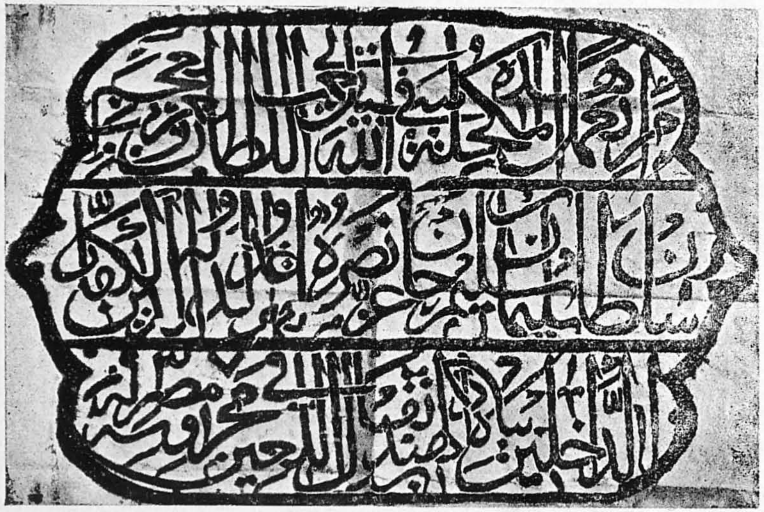
The Dā'ūdī Bohra's mosque, which is a modern structure, bears an inscription of the reign of Bahādur Shāh. The slab of white marble (1′2″ by 10″) on which the epigraph is inscribed in relief is fixed into the west wall of the mosque, to the right of the pulpit, at a height of 6′5″ from the floor. The inscription is not *in situ*, since it records the construction of an 'Īd mosque. Rāj bin 'Alī, a *bohra* inhabitant of Lathi,[2] constructed the mosque during the reign of Sultan Bahādur in the year 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.). The epigraph does not contain the royal titles or *kunyat* of Bahādur Shāh.[3]

[1] Also see Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, p. 409, where it is said, 'It bears .... Alī bin Hamza, the gunner who cast it, being, probably, the brother of the man who made the Nilam Tope'. However, according to my reading, the name of the father is not Ḥamza and hence the question of the gunner's relationship with the other is doubtful.

[2] Lathi, formerly the chief town of a fourth class native state of the same name, is situated about 13 miles north-east of Amreli and is a station on the Botad-Jetalsar section of the Western Rly.

[3] The inscriptions of Bahādur, published so far (*E.I.M.*, 1933-34 supp., p. 30; Dr Chaghtai, *opp. cit.*, no. XXXI) do not contain his royal titles. Ḥājī Dabīr, *opp. cit.*, p.139 calls him Al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī Ṣamṣāmu'd Dīn, but his coins have Quṭbu'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Faḍl (Taylor, *The coins of the Guj. Sultans*, p. 57).

(a) On the Nīlam Tope, Uparkot, Junagarh



Scale : ·18

(b) On the Kadānāl Tope, same place

Scale : ·15

(c) From the Jāmiʻ Mosque, Kutiyana

Scale : ·21

The epigraph is written in *Naskh* and the language barring the verse of the Quran and the tradition of the Prophet, is Persian.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(۱) قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله

(۲) احدا ـ قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنا المسجد بنا الله تعالی له قصرا فی

(۳) الجنة بنا کرد این مسجد عید راج بن علی بوهره ساکن قصبه لاتهی در عهد سلطان بهادر شاه بن

(۴) مظفر شاه السلطان تاریخ غره ماه ربیع الاول شهور سنه ثمان و ثلاثین و تسعمایه مورخا

TRANSLATION

(1) God the Blessed and Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; therefore, invoke not with God

(2) anyone else. The Prophet, may God's blessings and salutations be on him, says : He who builds the mosque, God the Exalted builds for him a palace in

(3) Paradise. This 'Īd mosque was constructed by Rāj, son of 'Alī *Bohra*,[1] inhabitant of the town of Lathi, during the reign of Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh, son of

(4) Muẓaffar Shāh, the King. Dated 1st of the month of Rabī' I *Shuhūr San* 938 (13th Oct. 1531 A.D.).

Mahmud III

Sultan Bahādur did not leave any son. He is said to have nominated Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh, his sister's son, to succeed him to the throne. The latter had been the constant companion of Sultan Bahādur and had for ten years, until the latter's death, participated in all the great military expeditions conducted by the Sultan. He was at Ujjain in Malwa at the time of Bahādur's death. He was invited by the nobles to return to Gujarat, but before he could do so, he died. The next heir to the throne was under the custody of Muḥammad Shāh of Burhanpur. He was summoned to Gujarat and was enthroned under the title of Maḥmūd Shāh III.

XVIII.—INSCRIPTION FROM THE JĀMI' MOSQUE, KUTIYANA

Kutiyana is situated on the bank of the river Bhadar, about 25 miles east of Porbandar. It is approached by bus from Saradiya, the last station on the Junagarh-Saradiya section of the Western Railway. Kutiyana is said to have been styled as Muẓaffarābād because Sultan Muẓaffar II, who then yet a prince was viceroy of Sorath, was very fond of the place and made it very populous and built the fort.[2] However, Ḥājī Dabīr informs us that Bahāu'd Dīn 'Imādu'l Mulk, under Maḥmūd I, had constructed the fort of Kutiyana, about 10 *farsakhs* from Junagarh.[3] Kutiyana, formerly under Junagarh State, is now the headquarters of a *mahāl* in Sorath District.

[1] The Bohra community, to which the builder belonged, is a trading community and is spread over Gujarat and Saurashtra. Rāj usually suffixed with *bhāi* is a common name among them even today.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 526.

Opp. cit., p. 22.

The following inscription is carved in relief on a marble slab fixed in the south wall of the Jāmi' mosque of the town. The mosque appears to be a modern structure and it is very doubtful whether the slab belongs to the present mosque, though it was noticed in the same place at least seventy years ago, for, the *Bombay Gazetteer* gives its purport.[1] However, the date given there is *Sur San* 940, which is quite wrong. Neither it is *Sur San*, nor it is 940. The epigraph records the erection of a Jāmi' mosque by Ibrāhīm Niẓām Jahramī during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Laṭīf Shāh in the month of Sha'bān 948 A.H. and also mentions the endowment of a village in the *pargana* of Kunthiyana for meeting the expenses of the mosque.

It is inscribed in *Naskh* and runs into ten lines in mixed Arabic and Persian prose. The name of the scribe, which is less frequently given in inscriptions on this side, is also given. The slab measures 1'5" by 1'2".

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم - قال الله تعالی

(۲) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال

(۳) النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله

(۴) تعالی بنی الله مثله قصرا فی الجنة بانی این مسجد

(۵) جامع ابراهیم نظام جهرمی ثم الشطاری بعصر

(٦) اعظم السلطان محمود شاه بن لطیف شاه اخی

(۷) بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه

(۸) [بن] احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان ذیل

(۹) خرج مسجد موضع هیتبره پرگنه کن تهیانه ماه شعبان ثمان اربعین و تسعمایه

(۱۰) کاتبحروف مذکور زبیری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says :

(2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with God. Says

(3) the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him : He who builds a mosque for God,

(4) the Exalted, God builds a palace like it in Paradise. The builder of this Jāmi' mosque (is)

(5) Ibrāhīm Niẓám Jahramī, (called) afterwards Shaṭṭārī, during the magnificent reign of

(6) the King, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Laṭīf Shāh, brother of

(7) Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh,

(8) (son of) Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the King. (And) for the

(9) expenditure of the mosque, the village Hetpara (?) of the *pargana* Kunthiyana (was endowed). In the month of Sha'bān, forty-eight and nine hundred (Nov.-Dec. 1541 A.D.).

(10) The writer of these words (is) Zubairī.

[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 526.

Though we do not find any mention of the builder in the annals of Gujarat, it appears from the epigraph that he was a man of some consequence and in possession of some authority so as to be able to donate a village for the maintenance of the mosque. It may be pointed out that the royal titles of Maḥmūd III (which are Nāṣiru'd Dunyā wa'd Dīn Abū'l Fatḥ)[1] are absent in the present epigraph. The village Hetpara could not be located on the map. The *mahālkāri* of Kutiyana who was addressed on the subject writes to me that there is no such village, nor any answering nearest to this pronunciation, in that *mahāl*.

Ahmad Shah III

Maḥmūd III was assassinated in 961 A.H., leaving behind him no heir. The nobles raised a relation of the late Sultan and a direct descendent of Aḥmad I to the throne under the title of Aḥmad Shāh III. In his coins and inscriptions, he is mentioned as Aḥmad Shāh, Ibn-i-'Amm-i-Maḥmūd Shāh. Ḥājī Dabīr, the author of the celebrated Arabic History of Gujarat, is the only historian to trace his lineage, according to which, he was the son of Laṭīf Khān, son of Niẓām Khān, son of Shakar Khān, son of Aḥmad Shāh I, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh.[2] According to this lineage, Aḥmad III would be an uncle and not a cousin of Sultan Maḥmūd III. Hence, the word ابن عم is not to be taken to mean strictly a first cousin, but it may be taken to mean a blood relation.[3] Dr Chaghtai considers the way in which Aḥmad III is mentioned in his inscriptions and coins as strange. He says, 'But .... instead of showing his direct connection with Aḥmad I, his relationship with Laṭīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh has been shown which is some what strange'.[4] However, there is nothing strange in this. It is not altogether justificable to interpret the legend on coins and inscriptions as showing his relationship with Laṭīf Shāh. For more often than not, the geneology thus inscribed indicates as far as possible the succession of actual rulers. And since Maḥmūd was succeeded by Aḥmad III who did not come within the scope of any close relationship with him, he was simply mentioned in these as ابن عم of Maḥmūd III (who was son of Laṭīf Shāh, the brother of Bahādur Shāh).

XIX.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

Loliyana, about 34 miles north-west of Bhavnagar, is reached from Ningala or Ujalvav stations on the Botad-Bhavnagar section of the Western Railway. A small village of no importance now, it lies on the southern bank of the Ghelo river. 'It used to be considered in the *Mulkgiri* times under the Muhammadans that Sorath commenced at Loliana. Loliana was an early conquest of the Muhammadans who kept a strong *thana* there and the Loliana *thanahdar* was an important person in the local politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It has a stone minaret which is 188 feet high and visible for some distance.'[5]

In a tomb in the village, locally known as Madan Shāh's, there are lying two loose slabs — both greatly damaged, one of which bears the following inscription. The slabs have nothing to do with the tomb where they seem to have been shifted from the mosque in which they are reported to have been placed when the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*,[6] was compiled. Both of them pertain to the construction and repair or reconstruction of a mosque. It is just possible that both the slabs had originally belonged to the same mosque.

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[1] Chaghtai, *opp. cit.*, pp. 78, 79 ; Taylor, *opp. cit.*, p. 58.

[2] *Opp. cit.*, p. 391.

[3] See *E.I.M.*, 1935-36, pp. 50-51. Also see *Journal of the Numis. Soc. of India*, vol I, p. 42, where the word is stated to connote a wider meaning than first cousin.

[4] *Opp. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, p. 535.

[6] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, pp. 5, 34.

This epigraph is inscribed in relief in *Naskh* letters on a slab of white marble measuring 1′11″ by 1′2″ by 6″. It consists of five lines in mixed Arabic and Persian, the Arabic portion comprising the *Bismillāh* and a verse from the Quran. It has been noticed in the *Corpus*, which states that 'the mosque appears to have been built long before the date of the inscription, but it having fallen down, Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat ordered it to be rebuilt. This inscription refers to the rebuilding of this mosque in 968 A.H.'[1] This reading is quite incorrect. The name of Aḥmad Shāh and the date 962 A.H., can be read despite the indistinct character of the epigraph, and the king was neither the builder nor repairer. Though the names of the original builder and the rebuilder could not be deciphered with certainty, the former appears to have held the title of Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwāmu'l Mulk, while the latter reads like Himmat Khān, son of Haibat Khān Bahlīm. It may be added that the royal titles of Aḥmad Shāh are absent in the epigraph. It may be rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ......

(۲) قال الله [تعالى] و ان [المساجد لله] فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا اين مسجد

(۳) جامع ؟ ملك الشرق قوام الملك بنا كرده بود بعد ...... نهايت كهنه شده بود ؟
بعد خان اعظم

(۴) [هم]تخان بن [هيب]تخان بهليم در عهد سلطان احمد شاه ابن عم محمود شاه از
سربنا كرده اجر الله تعالى

(۵) فى الدارين بانيه ؟ فى ماه مبارك رمضان الحادى و العشرين شهور سنه اثنى و ستين
و تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful..........

(2) God, the Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Him. This Jāmi' mosque

(3) was constructed by Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwāmu'l Mulk. After............ it had become dilapidated. Thereafter the great Khān

(4) Himmat (?) Khān, son of Haibat (?) Khān Bahlīm, got it reconstructed during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, a cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh. May God the Exalted reward

(5) its builder (?) in both the worlds. In the month of Ramaḍān, 21st, *Shuhūr San* sixty-two and nine hundred (9th Aug. 1555 A.D.).

Histories mention only two nobles who have borne the title of Qiwāmu'l Mulk. One was Sayyid 'Aṭāu'llāh who was responsible in making Prince Jalāl Khān (Quṭbu'd Dīn Aḥmad II) succeed his father Muḥammad Shāh II.[2] The other one, far more celebrated than the above-mentioned, was Malik Sārang Sulṭānī, a noble who served Maḥmūd I, Muẓaffar Shāh II and Sultan Bahādur. He is mentioned as having been put in charge of Diu by Sultan Bahādur in 1528.[3]

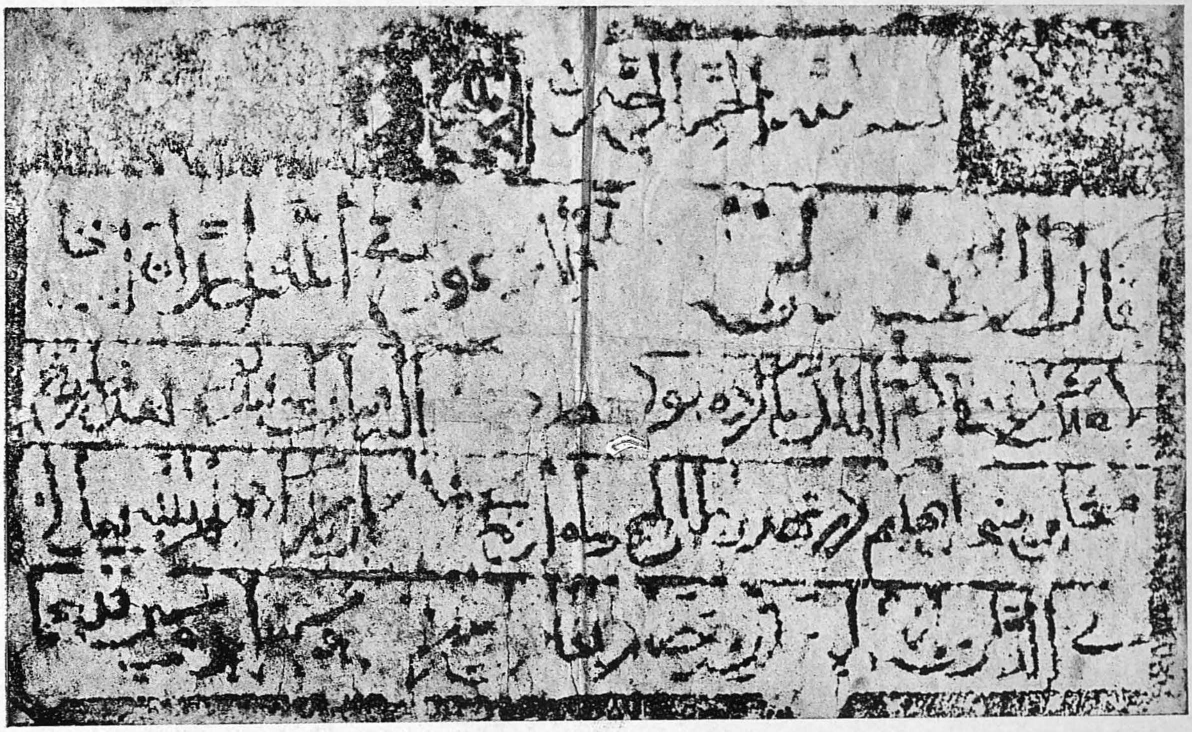
[1] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 34.

[2] *M.S.*, pp. 49, 61 ; H.D., *opp. cit.*, p. 11.

[3] *M.S.*, pp. 212, 214; for an account of his career, see Commissariat, *opp. cit.*, pp. 217, 274, 276, 278, 279, 291, 335.

PLATE XXII

(*a*) Lying in Madan Shāh Bukhārī's Tomb, Loliyana



Scale : ·26

(*b*) Lying in Aḥmad Pīr Kā Chorā, Patan (Somnath)

Scale : ·23

In the absence of any definite clue from the epigraph, it is difficult to say, as to which of the two, if at all, is meant here. As regards the repairer or rebuilder, the name could not be deciphered with certainty. The word Bahlīm[1] is quite clear in the epigraph, which shows that he belonged to that caste. A number of persons belonging to this caste are mentioned in the histories of Gujarat, e.g., Haibat Khān Bahlīm, Nuṣratu'l Mulk Bahlīm, Ghaḍanfaru'l Mulk Bahlīm, Mujāhid Khān Bahlīm and the like.[2]

XX.—INSCRIPTION FROM PATAN

The second inscription of this king, being noticed here for the first time, was found lying in the place called Aḥmad Pīr kā Chorā, near the Gujarati school at Patan. It originally belonged to some mosque, as the construction of a mosque is mentioned therein. It seems to have escaped the notice of the former Junagarh State authorities who have removed a number of inscribed tablets from this place to the State Museum, Junagarh. The Saurashtra Government, we hope, will take necessary steps to preserve this and remove it to the newly set up Archaeological Museum at Patan itself.

The slab of yellow sandstone, bearing this inscription, has suffered much from weather and vandalism. It measures 1′6″ by 1′6″ and is 6″ thick. The portion towards the base containing the date is worst affected. The epigraph records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III by one Isḥāq Sulṭānī. The titles of the king given are Al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh Ghiyāthu'd Dīn Abū'l Maḥāmid Aḥmad Shāh, which are to be found on his coins and other inscriptions. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم - قال الله تعالی

(۲) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احد[ا]

(۳) و قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنا مسجدا بنا الله

(۴) له قصرا فی الجنة - در عهد همایون السلطان

(۵) الاعظم المعظم المعتصم بالله غیاث الدین

(۶) ابو المحامد احمد شاه بن عم محمود شاه این مسجد بنا کرد

(۷) [بندهٔ گنه گار ؟] اسحاق سلطانی .... التاریخ ؟ ماه

(۸) ....

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says :

(2) And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, do not invoke anyone else alongwith God.

---

[1] Behlims : converted Rajputs of the Behlim tribe are found in North Gujarat and in Broach. The Behlims seem originally to have been a Turkish tribe. In Gujarat the Behlims have ceased to form a separate class and their tribal name has become little more than a surname. *Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, part II, p. 58.

[2] H.D., *opp. cit.*, pp. 29, 65, 102, 250, 256, 268, 291, 508 etc. The last mentioned was for some time stationed at Palītana which is not far from Loliyana. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 292, 324.

(3) And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, says: He who builds a mosque, God builds

(4) for him a palace in Paradise. During the auspicious reign of the King,

(5) the great, the magnificent, relying on God, G͟hiyāt͟hu'd Dīn

(6) Abū'l Maḥāmid Aḥmad S͟hāh, cousin of Maḥmūd S͟hāh, this mosque was built by

(7) the sinful slave, Isḥāq Sulṭānī ....month

(8) ....

The following two inscriptions belong to the Sultanate period but it was not possible to assign them the name of any of the Sultans. One of them is a fragmentary record, containing a part of the geneology of the Sultans, while the other does not mention any ruling king at all.

XXI.—INSCRIPTION FROM LOLIYANA

This fragmentary epigraph is the other of the two lying in the tomb of Madan S͟hāh.[1] Its text has been given in the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, where it is stated to 'contain the date 729 A.H. in which the building of the mosque by one Karmalla Shah took place'.[2] The inscription which has lost its portion on the right is certainly neither dated 729 or 720 nor does it give the name of Karmalla Shah as the builder. It mentions the construction of a mosque during the reign of one of the Gujarat Sultans, who ruled after Muḥammad S͟hāh II, son of Aḥmad I; in all probability, it was Maḥmūd I. The style of writing is *Nask͟h* and the slab measures in its present state 1′1″ by 8″ and is 6″ thick.

It may be rendered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

(۱) .... د شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه

(۲) .... بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار

(۳) .... غالبخانی الخامس و العشرین من ذی القعده

(۴) .... بنا کرد این مسجد ....

TRANSLATION

(1) ....d S͟hāh, son of Muḥammad S͟hāh, son of Aḥmad S͟hāh, son of Muḥammad S͟hāh

(2) .... the slave, hopeful of the mercy of God,

(3) .... G͟hālib K͟hānī, on the 25th of D͟hī'l Qa'da

(4) .... constructed this mosque ....

XXII.—INSCRIPTION FROM QĀḌĪ'S MOSQUE, PATAN

This epigraph is carved in relief on a slab of marble measuring 2′ by 5½″ which is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the said mosque. It comprises three lines in mixed Arabic and Persian. It mentions the erection of a mosque by one Maḥmūd, son of 'Ut͟hmān. The date which is inscribed towards the end in the third line is not perfectly clear; the *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, reads it as 976 A.H.[3]

---

[1] See inscription no. XVII above.

[2] *Corp. Insc. Bhav.*, p. 5. However, in the text given, the date read is 720 A.H. Such instances of giving one date in the text and another in the introductory remarks are common in that work.

[3] P. 36.

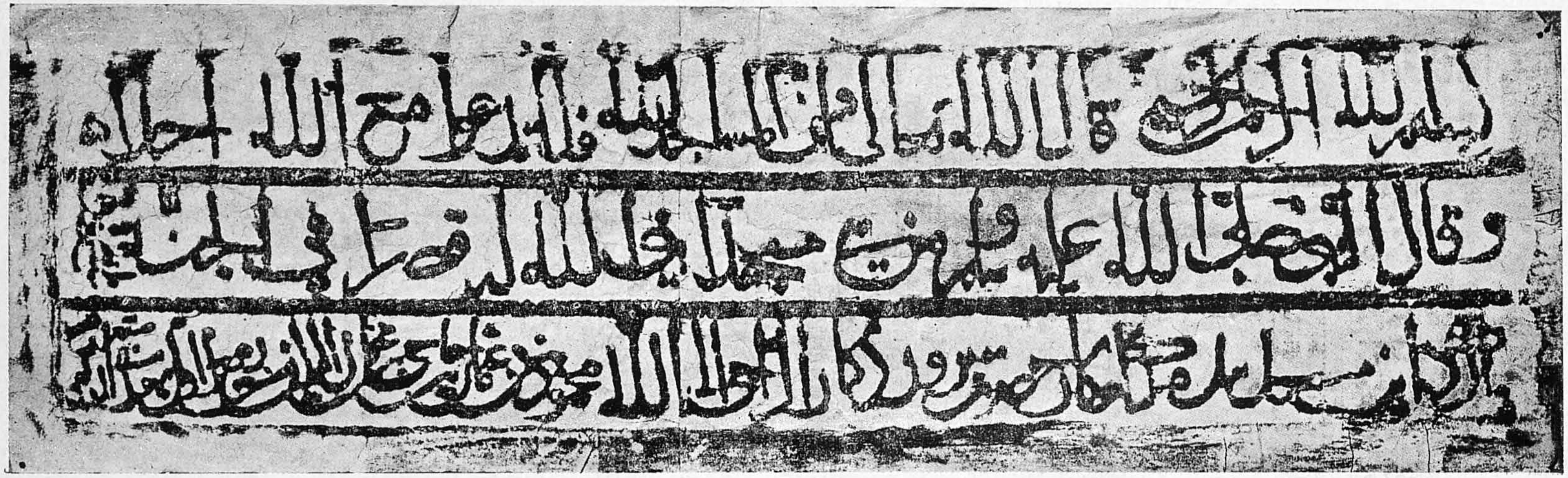
(*a*) From the Dā'ūdī Bohra's Mosque, Ranpur

Scale : ·23

(*b*) Lying in Madan Shāh Bukhārī's Tomb, Loliyana

Scale : ·31

(*c*) Over the central miḥrāb, Qāḍī's Mosque, Patan (Somnath)



Scale : ·34

The style of writing is *Naskh*. It may be read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (c)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ـ قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(٢) و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قصرا فى الجنة ....

(٣) بنا كرد اين مسجد بنده گناهگار حضرت پروردگار الراجى الى الله محمود بن عثمان بن
حاجى عثمان ؟ فى الثلثين شهر ربيع الاول شهور سنه ست و اربعين و تسعمايه ؟

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God the Exalted says : And verily, the mosques are for God (only) ; hence, invoke not with God anyone else.

(2) And the Prophet, may God's blessings and peace be upon him, says : He who builds a mosque, God builds for him a palace in Paradise ....[1]

(3) This mosque was constructed by the sinful slave of the nourishing Lord, turning in hope to God, Maḥmūd, son of 'Uthmān, son of Ḥājī 'Uthmān (?) on the 30th of Rabī' I *Shuhūr San* 946 A.H.[2] (15th Aug. 1539 A.D.).

[1] A few words written vertically here could not be read. They probably appear to be in continuation of the last line

[2] The reading of the date is doubtful.

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